DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 447 514 CS 510 421

AUTHOR	Li, Ming-sheng
TITLE	Perceptions of the Place of Expatriate English Language Teachers in China.
PUB DATE	1999-02-00
NOTE	343p.; Ph.D. Thesis, La Trobe University.
AVAILABLE FROM	For full text: http://www.glasscity.net/users/xiong/tic/.
PUB TYPE	Dissertations/Theses - Doctoral Dissertations (041) -- Tests/Questionnaires (160)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC14 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Case Studies; Cross Cultural Studies; Cultural Context; *Cultural Differences; *English (Second Language); *English Teachers; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Student Attitudes; Teacher Behavior; *Teacher Student Relationship
IDENTIFIERS	China

ABSTRACT

A study inquired into the cross-cultural perceptions of the place of English-speaking teachers teaching English to English language majors in Chinese tertiary institutions. A case study was conducted in 1997 in nine Chinese tertiary institutions in a southwestern province of the People's Republic of China. Four groups of people participated in the survey: expatriate English language teachers, and Chinese university students, teachers, and administrators. The goal of the study was to identify the potential sources of the problems encountered by expatriate English language teachers in China in the process of the introduction of Western teaching pedagogies and to explore possible solutions to these problems. Results indicated that conflicts arose from the significant perceptual differences between Chinese students and expatriate teachers in some fundamental conceptions about language learning and teaching. It appeared that teaching and learning were so socio-culturally conditioned and teaching methodologies were also so context-specific that the transfer of the pedagogical expertise from one culture to another without regard to the local cultural values, expectations, history, and educational philosophies led to learner and teacher-learner conflicts. This study proposes making use of "border pedagogy" to transcend these culture-induced differences and to manage the conflicts for their positive effects. This approach embraces a positive attitude towards differences by creating a cultural synergy in which differing views are respected and accommodated, mutual trust and confidence built, common agendas shared, cultural borders crossed, and problems resolved. To achieve such a goal, cultural awareness, collaboration, reflection, inquiry, and multi-dimensional involvement are of critical importance to maximize the imported foreign expertise in English language teaching in China. Contains approximately 400 references, several unnumbered tables, and a figure of data. Appendixes contain consent forms, English and Chinese versions of questionnaires (including tabulations of data), cross tabulation of data, themes for interviews, and certifying documents. (Author/RS)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 447 514

PERCEPTIONS OF THE PLACE OF EXPATRIATE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHERS IN CHINA

Submitted by

MING-SHENG LI

A thesis submitted in total fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate School of Education

La Trobe University

Bundoora, Victoria 3083

AUSTRALIA

February, 1999

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
● Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
M. Li
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
1

CS 510 421

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

This study inquired into the cross-cultural perceptions of the place of English-speaking teachers teaching English to English language majors in Chinese tertiary institutions. A case study was conducted in 1997 in nine Chinese tertiary institutions in a southwestern province in the People's Republic of China. Four groups of people participated in the survey: expatriate English language teachers, and Chinese university students, teachers, and administrators. The goal of the study was to identify the potential sources of the problems encountered by expatriate English language teachers in China in the process of the introduction of Western teaching pedagogies and to explore possible solutions to these problems. The study provided a systematic and empirical investigation in one geographical setting such that all sides of the issues were portrayed.

On investigation, it seemed that the conflicts arose from the significant perceptual differences between Chinese students and expatriate teachers in some fundamental conceptions about language learning and teaching. Cultural incompatibilities derived from differing cultural values and beliefs seemed to have led to mismatches between teachers' intentions and learners' interpretations, to disparities in pedagogical and role expectations, and to conflicts in teacher-student relationships. It appeared that teaching

and learning were so socio-culturally conditioned, and teaching methodologies were also so context-specific that the transfer of the pedagogical expertise from one culture to another without regard to the local cultural values, expectations, history, and educational philosophies had led to learner resistance and teacher-learner conflicts.

The solution to the conflicts derived from differences manifested in cultural values and belief systems should be sought through the development of cultural understanding. This study proposes making use of "border pedagogy" to transcend these culture-induced differences and to manage the conflicts for their positive effects. This approach embraces a positive attitude towards differences by creating a cultural synergy in which differing views are respected and accommodated, mutual trust and confidence built, common agendas shared, cultural borders crossed, and problems resolved. To achieve such a goal, cultural awareness, collaboration, reflection, inquiry, and multi-dimensional involvement are of critical importance to maximise the imported foreign expertise in English language teaching in China.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .... **vi**

SUMMARY OF THE THESIS .... **vii**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP .... **viii**

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION **1**

- 1.1 A Personal Statement – Problem Identification 1
- 1.2 Sccio-political and cultural contexts 4
  - *1.2.1 The Chinese Political and Economic Imperatives* *4*
  - *1.2.2 Motivations for Chinese Host Institutions* *7*
  - *1.2.3 Motivations of Foreign Teachers Goging to Teach in China* *9*
  - *1.2.4 Recruitment Policies, Practices, and Consequences* *11*
- 1.3 Introduction of the Research Topic 14
  - *1.3.1 Theoretical Perspectives* *15*
  - *1.3.2 Major Themes of the Thesis* *17*
- 1.4 Overview of the Study 22

CHAPTER TWO: ROLES, EXPECTATIONS, AND EDAGOGIES **24**

- 2.1 The Discourse of Change 24
- 2.2 Disparities in Role Beliefs and Expectations 31
  - *2.2.1 Role Theory* *31*
  - *2.2.2 Disparities in Role Beliefs and Expectations* *33*
  - *2.2.3 Expert, Expertise, and Privileges* *38*
- 2.3 Disparities in Pedagogical Expectations 42
- 2.4 MISSIN PERSPECTIVES 49
- 2.5 Chapter Summary and Research Questions 52

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 55

3.1 MAJOR THEMES OF THE STUDY 55

3.2 RATIONALE FOR RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 57

3.3 SAMPLING OF THE RESEARCH SUBJECTS 58

3.3.1 Chinese Students *60*

3.3.2 Foreign Teachers *62*

3.3.3 Chinese Teachers *62*

3.3.4 Chinese Administrators *63*

3.4 THE PILOT STUDY 63

3.5 INTERVIEWS 64

3.5.1 The Semi-Structured Interview *65*

3.5.2 Interviewing Formats *66*

3.5.2.1 Individual Interview 67

3.5.2.2 Group Interview 67

3.6 QUESTIONNAIRES 69

3.7 ETHICAL ISSUES 70

3.8 RESEARCH CONSTRAINTS 72

3.9 ANALYSING THE DATA 74

CHAPTER FOUR: CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS AND TEACHING IN AN INTERCULTURAL SETTING 76

4.1 POSITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF FOREIGN TEACHERS' TEACHING 77

4.1.1 The Rationale for the Employment *77*

4.1.2 Significance of the Employment of Foreign Teachers *80*

4.1.2.1 Introducing New Teaching Methods 80

4.1.2.2 Creating an English Learning Environment 82

4.2 ISSUES OF SELECTION AND EMPLOYMENT 86

4.2.1 Gaps Between the Government Regulations and Their Implementation *86*

4.2.2 The Budget Allocation and Employment *88*

4.2.3 Lack of Induction Procedures *91*

4.2.4 Inflow of Unqualified Foreign Teachers *97*

4.3 DISPARITIES IN PEDAGOGICAL EXPECTATIONS 104

4.3.1 Theoretical Bases of the Teaching Methods Used by Foreign Teachers *104*

4.3.2 The Chinese Students' Responses to Foreign Teachers' Teaching *107*

4.3.2.1 Chinese Students' Negative Responses 107

4.3.2.2 Foreign Teachers' Inappropriate Teaching Methods 112

4.3.2.3 Foreign Teachers' Rigid Teaching Styles 116

4.3.2.4 Foreign Teachers' Unsystematic Teaching Styles 120

4.3.2.5 Foreign Teachers' Irresponsible Attitudes Towards Teaching . 123

4.4 TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS 126

4.4.1 Problematic Teacher-Student Relationships *128*

4.4.2 Foreign Teachers' Patronising Attitudes *129*

4.4.3 Foreign Teachers' Perceived Unfriendly Attitudes *131*

4.4.4 Foreign Teachers' Inappropriate Classroom Behaviours *134*

4.4.5 Proselytisation *139*

4.4.6 Womanisation *141*

4.5 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER 143

CHAPTER FIVE: CONFLICTS IN CONTEXT **145**

5.1 INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION PERSPECTIVES 146

5.2 LEARNER NEEDS PERSPECTIVES 156

5.3 THE ESL AND EFL PERSPECTIVES 161

5.4 THE DISCOURSE OF ORACY AND PARTICIPATION 167

5.5 INSTITUTIONAL PARADIGMS 180

5.5.1 The Impact of the Native-Speaker-Ideal Fallacy *182*

5.5.2 Some Pragmatic Constraints in Employing Foreign Teachers *184*

5.5.3 Difficulties in Interpreting Western Credentials *185*

5.5.4 Foreign Teachers' Perceived Superiority *188*

5.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY 191

CHAPTER SIX: WAYS FORWARD 193

6.1 Language Awareness 194
6.2 Border Pedagogy 200
6.3 Reflective Approach 210
6.4 Creating a Collaborative Culture 219
6.5 Maximising Foreign Expertise 225
6.6 Chapter Summary 232

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION 234

7.1 Conclusion of the Thesis 234
  7.1.1 Major Findings of the Research 235
  7.1.2 Implications of the Study 242
7.2 The Contribution of the Study 249
7.3 Limitations and Further Research 252
  7.3.1 Limitations 252
  7.3.2 Further Research 255

APPENDICES 257

Appendix One Human Ethics Approval 258
Appendix Two The declaration of Informed Consent 259
Appendix Three Questionnaire for Foreign Teachers (FTQ) 260
Appendix Four Questionnaire for Chinese Students (SQ) 268
  4-1 Chinese Version 268
  4-2 English Version (Translation) 272
Appendix Five Questionnaire for Chinese Teachers 277
  5-1 Chinese Version 277
  5-2 English Version (Translation) 281
Appendix Six Cross Tabulation 288
Appendix Seven Themes for Interviews 295
Appendix Eight Certifying Documents 298

BIBLIOGRAPHY 300

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At the last stage of completing this thesis, I have an enormous sense of pride and accomplishment and a deep feeling of love and gratitude for the people who supported on my journey.

Firstly, I want to offer my sincere thanks to my academic supervisors, Dr. Howard Nicholas and Dr. Lloyd Holliday, whose unfailing support, insights, expert supervision, and constant encouragement contributed enormously to the development and completion of this thesis.

I would like to acknowledge the significant support of the following people in undertaking this study: Professor Michael Osborne, Vice Chancellor, Professor Graham McDowell, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Professor Greg O'Bien, Dr. Bernie Neville, Dr. Doug White, Ms Liz Carey, Dr. Ray Lewis, Mr. Kevin Smith, Mrs. Erica Smith, Professor Yang Chuanzhe, and Professor Liu Shoulan.

I also wish to thank the expatriate English language teachers, the Chinese students, teachers and administrators who participated in my survey and provided their views and insights, which become the major sources of reference in this study.

My family: Without the love and support of my wife, Huai-yu and my daughter, Zheng, and without the creative and supportive environment they provided, the task of writing this thesis would have been overwhelming. My love for them goes deeper than words can express.

SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

This study inquired into the cross-cultural perceptions of the place of English-speaking teachers teaching English to English language majors in Chinese tertiary institutions. A case study was conducted in 1997 in nine Chinese tertiary institutions in a southwestern province in the People's Republic of China. Four groups of people participated in the survey: expatriate English language teachers, and Chinese university students, teachers, and administrators. The goal of the study was to identify the potential sources of the problems encountered by expatriate, English language teachers in China in the process of the introduction of Western teaching pedagogies and to explore possible solutions to these problems. The study provided a systematic and empirical investigation in one geographical setting such that all sides of the issues were portrayed.

On investigation, it seemed that the conflicts arose from the significant perceptual differences between Chinese students and expatriate teachers in some fundamental conceptions about language learning and teaching. Cultural incompatibilities derived from differing cultural values and beliefs seemed to have led to mismatches between teachers' intentions and learners' interpretations, to disparities in pedagogical and role expectations, and to conflicts in teacher-student relationships. It appeared that teaching and learning were so socio-culturally conditioned, and teaching methodologies were also so context-specific that the transfer of the pedagogical expertise from one culture to another without regard to the local cultural values, expectations, history, and educational philosophies had led to learner resistance and teacher-learner conflicts.

The solution to the conflicts derived from differences manifested in cultural values and belief systems should be sought through the development of cultural understanding. This study proposes making use of "border pedagogy" to transcend these culture-induced differences and to manage the conflicts for their positive effects. This approach embraces a positive attitude towards differences by creating a cultural synergy in which differing views are respected and accommodated, mutual trust and confidence built, common agendas shared, cultural borders crossed, and problems resolved. To achieve such a goal, cultural awareness, collaboration, reflection, inquiry, and multi-dimensional involvement are of critical importance to maximise the imported foreign expertise in English language teaching in China.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

All research procedures reported in this thesis were approved by the Human Ethics Committee, the Faculty of Social Sciences, La Trobe University.

Signature: ________________

Ming-sheng Li

Date: ________________

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter identifies the research problems surrounding foreign teachers teaching in China by presenting my personal account of experiences with foreign teachers. It is followed by a description of the Chinese socio-political and cultural contexts in which this study is conducted. Then some key terms and concepts in relation to the present research: culture, values, beliefs, perceptions, roles and expectations are defined and discussed. Finally the chapter outlines the major concerns and the framework for this research and provides an overview of the thesis.

1. 1 A Personal Statement – Problem Identification

This study was motivated by my long-standing observations of the conflicts that occurred between native English-speaking teachers (referred as "foreign teachers" hereafter) and Chinese English language majors. My personal experiences as a student, as a teacher and as an administrator, at a university in the People's Republic of China, and my learning experiences abroad (England and Australia) prompted me to seek solutions to the dilemmas with which I was confronted.

During my undergraduate years (1977-1980), as an English language major, I was taught by three foreign teachers. In retrospect, my classmates and I had always been waiting for better foreign teachers to appear than the ones who were teaching us, thinking that it was our bad luck that we were being taught by such "incompetent" teachers. The expectations lingered on until we graduated, but still most of us felt these expectations were never met. We did not know precisely what we had expected, but we vaguely realised that what we had been offered was not what we had desired. We did not feel we had made much progress in the language itself except for some improvement in our listening and some understanding of geography, politics, and selected elements of culture. However, we still felt fortunate because we had been taught by native speakers.

Later I entered the postgraduate program (1985-1987), majoring in English language and literature. My case was unusual because all the subject courses were taught by foreign teachers with doctoral degrees in linguistics and English literature. However, we did not appreciate these foreign teachers' teaching and sometimes we strongly resisted it. I personally witnessed tensions and extreme cases of bitter hostilities between foreign teachers and my classmates. We were sometimes frustrated, helpless and desperate. The departmental administrators occasionally had to intervene to reconcile the differences. Mutual dissatisfaction seemed to frustrate everyone. What we were offered did not seem very useful. For example: we were taught by a foreign teacher to write an MA thesis. For the whole year, we were busy writing outlines, just like a table of contents in a book. Formally speaking, it was not thesis writing at all. Sadly, I did not know what a literature review was, nor did I know the different formats of citations and bibliography, until I came to Australia to pursue my doctoral studies.

I received advanced teacher training in two of the six training centres organised by the Chinese Ministry of Education (1981-1983). All the teachers came from English-speaking countries, and most of them were highly experienced in training teachers in their own countries. We were taught how to use different teaching approaches. It was my impression at that time that there was strong resistance to the ideas being promoted and some foreign teachers also found it difficult to introduce Western teaching methodologies in China (see discussion in Light & Works, 1984; Oatey, 1990a, 1990b). We did not seem to have a shared agenda because, as I later realised, what we had expected was improvement in language competence rather than an expansion of our visions of Western teaching methods.

Later, I went to England from 1989 to 1990 for advanced study in an English department at a prestigious university. Initially, all the twelve Chinese students were grouped in one class. Unfortunately, the size of the class dwindled gradually because we did not like the way the teachers taught, where discussions and debates were the major modes of teaching. Finally, the class had to stop because no students came. Instead, we all went to other teachers' classes (for local students) where transmission styles of teaching were predominant, especially in English literature, discourse analysis, stylistics, and literary criticism. We appreciated such styles of teaching.

I went back to China to take up both teaching and administrative responsibilities in my foreign language department. This time, I could hear stories from the all parties involved. Problems, very much similar in nature to those I had heard, observed and experienced before, occurred frequently. Students complained they had not learned much from foreign teachers, and at times demanded that foreign teachers be replaced by Chinese teachers. The following account by Sun (1990) might be appropriate to describe what the Chinese students felt about foreign teachers' teaching:

> At the beginning, students always find the English courses organised by the foreign teachers interesting, vivid, and varied in form, but after some time they begin to get bored and start to complain. Some have said, "We learned nothing but a waste of time"; others have even begun to doubt the necessity of inviting foreign teachers from abroad. All of this has affected the positive view of inviting foreign teachers. (p. 78-79)

Foreign teachers sometimes also lodged their complaints, but very often they felt very confident about their teaching. They tended to see the positive side of their teaching, unaware of students' negative responses. There often existed a vast gap between the perceptions of the students and those of the foreign teachers. This to me was a puzzle. My personal observations indicated that most of the foreign teachers were very much committed to their teaching and were highly professional in their field. But the complaints were real. Problems did exist. The waning popularity of foreign teachers was indeed an observable fact. I did not know the very nature of these problems and their sources. I was sad to see the damaging effects on the very good intentions of foreign teachers and Chinese host institutions. It was these problems that motivated me to step on a scholarly path to investigate the fundamental issues and to look for some possible solutions to these problems and this is the central theme of this thesis.

1.2 Socio-Political and Cultural Contexts

This section describes Chinese socio-political and cultural contexts to provide a basis for a better understanding of the situation on which this study is conducted. It points out that the socio-political and economic changes have generated the need for foreign teachers' involvement in assisting China to upgrade its English language teaching (ELT) standards, and that public will and government imperatives play a critical role in shaping the recruiting policies in China. It is argued that varying motivations embraced by different institutions and individuals at every level lead to different outcomes.

1.2.1 The Chinese Political and Economic Imperatives

China's modernisation drive in an attempt to catch up with the most advanced countries of the world and the Chinese determination to open itself to the outside world (Wan, 1999) has urged China to learn from other countries, to become well informed of the scientific developments of the outside world, to rid itself of the past backwardness, and to "make use of intellectual resources of other countries by inviting foreigners to participate in key construction projects in various fields and to assist in education and technical innovation" (Deng, 1987, p. 22). Seeing the link between economy and scientific technology, Deng (1993, p. 377) argues that "faster economic development depends on scientific technology and education" (p. 377), that "scientific technology is the first production force," and that "the future lies in science and technology" (pp. 377-378). He emphasises that "education should be oriented towards modernisation, towards the world, and towards the future" (as cited in Wu, 1996, p. 17).

Jiang Zemin (1997), the President of the People's Republic of China, points out that the Chinese people suffered defeats and humiliations in the nineteenth century and they struggled for independence and explored ways to strengthen the nation in the twentieth century. He believes that the twenty-first century would be an opportunity and a challenge for China's revitalisation. The challenge, according to Li Lanqin (1995, 1999), the Chinese Vice-Premier, comes from the world competition surrounding science and technology, the key being the competition for talents (*rencai)*. The strength of a nation is believed to be determined by the development of its science and technology (Liu, 1998). Therefore, Chinese contact with the outside world is becoming increasingly important. It is vital to merge China into the world community, to meet the challenges of the world, to educate future scientists, engineers, technicians, and all kinds of other professionals who will use foreign languages to keep themselves well informed about developments in science and technology in other parts of the world (Fu, 1986; Porter, 1990). China's modernisation ambition, Ting (1987) says, calls for

> a drastic increase in contact with the rest of the world and thus a drastic increase in demand for people who can use foreign languages as a means of communication in foreign trade, in technological exchanges, in scientific fields, in diplomatic affairs, in tourist business, and in mass media, etc. (p. 54)

As a result, "foreign language is seen as an essential tool in developing and changing the core of the country's economic system" (Burnaby & Sun, 1989, p. 221). Foreign language expertise is seen as essential for the government to carry out its modernisation program, to develop its economy and trade, to maintain its diplomatic and cultural ties with other countries, and to "participate in and contribute to international knowledge networks" (Ross, 1992, p. 239).

English, as an international language and as a key to wealth, prosperity, and scientific developments, has been chosen to assist China in its modernisation programs (Adamson, 1995; Fu, 1986; Xu, 1990; Dzau, 1990a, 1990b; Ting, 1987; Ross, 1992, 1993). English is regarded as an important instrument for China to gain access to Western science and technology and to actively participate in "the global family of nations" (Ford, 1988, p. 4). Learning the English language is considered to be the first step because, as the Chinese people have realised, "English is the preferred language of world trade and commerce, science and technology and international relations" (Ford, 1988, p. 4), and a large proportion of the annual world output of research papers and scholarly articles is published in English (Swales, 1985). English has become the dominant international language functioning as "the international gatekeeper" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 18). Without competence in the language, it is impossible to gain access to Western science and technology, to the English-dominated "domains of popular culture, international academic relations, and other forms of international information transfer" (Ford, 1988, p. 19). Under such circumstances, to operate in international academic relations, students, scholars, scientists, researchers need a high level of competence in English to pursue their studies.

English teaching, closely connected with the Chinese perception of the importance of education in its economic and political infrastructures, has enabled thousands of foreign teachers to participate in the English program in almost all universities and colleges in China (Ting, 1987; Burnaby & Sun, 1989). Foreign teachers' participation, as a "barometer", has always been closely associated with national and international political and socio-cultural changes (Ross, 1992; Macmillan, 1990; Hayhoe, 1986, 1991).

The government imperative has motivated individual interests. In turn, there has been a dramatic increase in the public demand for English language knowledge. English language teaching has thus become the biggest enterprise in foreign language programs in China, and perhaps in the world (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Zhao & Campbell, 1995). China now claims the largest EFL learning population in the world (McKnight, 1994), more than 63 million in secondary schools and tertiary institutions, not including the extra-mural learners and self-directed learners.[1] Ford (1988) indicates that "there are more Chinese currently studying English than there are Americans. Estimates range as high as 250 million Chinese students of English" (p. 2). For example, in Shenzhen, a newly developed city in the south-eastern China, with a population of about one million, it was reported that over half a million people had learned or were learning English (Yi, 1997). According to Yi, these people learn English to participate in international exchange and cooperation, to enhance their competence in the increasingly competitive society, and to improve their work efficiency.

English learning is no longer a foreign imposition as it was in the 19th century (Bastid, 1987). It is no longer viewed suspiciously as it was in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Porter, 1987, 1990). At the state level, "English is valued for the contribution it can make to China's modernisation" (McKnight, 1994, p. 49). At the individual level, the purpose of learning English varies from person to person. Dzau (1990a) describes studying English in China as "prestigious -- the vogue, the fashion, the rage" (p.2).

English proficiency, in Dzau's opinion, is regarded as the key to opportunities to promotion, advancement, better jobs with better pay, better business prospects, and better opportunities for study and travel abroad. All in all, English learning is associated with both national and personal interests (Ford, 1988).

The government's ideological, political and economic imperatives instil the belief in the general public that foreign language teaching is an inseparable part of the Chinese modernisation program (Ross, 1992). Such a favourable government open-door policy has motivated Chinese tertiary institutions to employ foreign experts to meet the needs of Chinese individuals as well as the university's opening to the outside world. As language experts, in Philipson's (1992) words, they are expected to serve as "models for the local teachers" (p. 192). Native speakers are believed to be the ideal in teaching the language.

1.2.2 Motivations for Chinese Host Institutions

Encouraged by the government's call for increasing openness to the West to support economic development, Chinese universities and colleges vie with one another to employ foreign teachers. The motivations vary from university to university, but are all related to a "desire to advance in the realms of science and technology" (Porter, 1990, p. 70). However, it is also observed that foreign teachers are employed for different self-defined motives: to serve as agents bridging Chinese and foreign universities in teaching and research, to boost the host university's national and international image, to compensate for a teacher shortage (Porter, 1990), or to fill the gaps of knowledge in certain areas and disciplines (Mahoney, 1990). There are as many diverse needs as there are universities (Muehl & Muehl, 1992).

As the money for the employment is allocated by the Central Government or by the

---

[1] "The Human Rights Development in China in 1996," *Guangming Daily*, 1 April, 1997.

provincial government[2] (Thurston et al., 1994), universities and colleges compete with one another to obtain the government-allocated budget to make use of foreign expertise. Some employ foreign teachers "to take charge of certain classroom teaching work" and some "to take the lead in creating an English-speaking environment in the institution" (Chen & Leng, 1990, p. 63). Most institutions, it is reported, use native English speakers as models for Chinese students and teachers (Porter, 1990; Turner-Gottschang & Reed, 1987). Native speakers, seen as key holders to wealth and power, are preferred and deferred to. Phillipson (1992) describes such a phenomenon as the "native speaker fallacy" (p. 192) in which the native speaker is taken for granted as the best teacher and the ideal model for non-native speakers. The "native speaker fallacy" holds that

> the native speaker serves as the model who can personify the native speaker abstracted and reified in works on standard grammar and vocabulary and in 'received pronunciation', and which teaching materials and sound recording seek to reanimate. The teacher who is a native speaker is the best embodiment of the target and norm for learners. (Phillipson, 1992, p. 194)

The fallacy that recognises native speakers' superiority as language teachers reinforces "rigid stereotypes held by members of society, language teaching institutions, and teachers in particular" (Ryan, 1998, p. 151) and "their status venerated and seemingly assured in the field" and their role highly idealised (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 285) as "the uncrowned King of linguistics" (Mey, 1981, p. 73).

The native-speaker-ideal notion has many implications in the Chinese educational contexts. It justifies both recruitment policies and practices. As Sansome and Du (1988) point out "the presence of a foreign teacher makes a course more 'saleable'" (as cited in Sunderland, 1990, p. 239). In the Chinese perception, "without foreigners, a college or university has little or no prestige" (Porter, 1990, p. 80). Seeing the perceived reputation from hosting foreign teachers, seeing the benefits in the employment, institutions that have not been authorised to employ foreign experts and foreign teachers have caught up to share such a reputation and benefits, and have also begun to employ foreigners, without thinking if they are really needed or if they are getting their money's worth (Porter, 1990).

---

[2] Each year, the Chinese central government allocates a large sum of foreign currency to the local governments and the local government reallocates money to different universities, colleges, and research institutions for recruiting foreign experts and teachers to teach courses that Chinese teachers cannot teach or to do joint research with Chinese teachers and researchers. The money cannot be used for other purposes. The unused money has to be returned to the government.

Motivations and perceptions can greatly influence the outcomes (Good & Brophy, 1987; Eccles & Wigfield, 1985). The Chinese host institution's perceptions and motives can lead to different results of recruiting practices. Foreign teachers' motivations to teach in China can also seriously affect their teaching outcomes. This will be reviewed in the following subsection.

1.2.3 Motivations of Foreign Teachers Going to Teach in China

Just as different host institutions have different motivations for employing foreign teachers, foreign teachers also have different purposes for going to teach in China (Orton, 1990). The majority of them go to China in an attempt to help China promote English language teaching and learning, introduce the latest research findings and theories in language teaching and learning, and test and develop these theories in teaching practice in China (Maley, 1984, 1985, 1986a, 1986b), and impart to Chinese students and teachers new ideas, values, beliefs, and pedagogical expertise (Byron & Macmillan, 1990; Hird, 1996). Some export their educational technology to China (Sampson, 1984) in an attempt to quicken its English teaching reforms and to update its English curricula, syllabi, textbooks, and teaching and learning theories, and at the same time to fulfil their professional role and experiment in their use of their expertise (Cumming, 1987).

However, not all foreign teachers go to China for one single purpose only (Porter, 1987, 1990; Orton, 1990). Some go to teach in China out of their romantic interest in China's long history, civilisation, political and historic changes (Orton, 1990; Muehl and Muehl, 1992). To many foreigners, working and living in China is a prospect that they have dreamed of for years (Turner-Gottschang & Reed, 1987). China is such a mysterious place to them that they wish to go and see it in person, and teaching is the only way for them and the family to get there without major expense (MacKinnon, 1983). Some go to teach for research reasons. MacKinnon (1983) believes that his experience of working in China was worth time and professional face in that his ability to do effective research had been enormously enhanced. Some teach in China because they cannot find a suitable job at home (Porter, 1990) and experiences in EFL teaching in China can help them fill out their curriculum vitae (Orton, 1990). Some teach in China in order to learn the Chinese language and culture as teaching provides them with financial support (Salzman, 1986). Some go to China in order to marry a Chinese person, a dream held since childhood, and teaching can possibly provide such an opportunity (Porter, 1990). Other foreigners go to teach in China as practising teachers in order to get some credits for the courses they undertake in their home countries (Orton, 1995).

Some, under the guise of being teachers, teach in China on a religious mission to convert Chinese into Christians (Turner-Gottschang, 1987). As proselytisation is strictly forbidden in China, teaching can therefore be a good channel for foreign missionaries. Porter (1990) has observed that in the past, it was the missionaries who made requests to enter China, but now it is the Chinese government that invites them to teach in China. The word *teach* contains different interpretations. To the Chinese government, it means to teach English, but to the missionaries, it is to create "an environment that might lead to a greater Christian presence in China" (Porter 1990, p. 77). The primary goal of such people in China is, therefore, to win more converts to their religion, rather than to teach the language. Porter claims that these missionaries, cheaper than other foreigners, seem to be more appreciated by the Chinese hosts who need teachers so badly that they ignore the carefully disguised motivations of the missionaries. Many foreigners feel very much surprised that "these modern-day missionaries now move about China openly espousing their beliefs" (Porter, 1990, p. 59).

In the perceptions of the Chinese hosts, "the foreigners are realistic. They are mostly interested in China, and teaching is the best way to get here and see it" (Porter, 1990, p. 66). Different foreign teachers embrace different motivations. It can be expected that these different motivations can also yield different outcomes, that Chinese good intentions and hospitality can be vulnerably exploited (Booz, 1983), and that the reputation of foreign teachers can be tarnished. Porter (1990) has observed, for example, that not all foreign teachers are seriously committed to English language teaching. One of his informants confessed,

> One thing I'll recognise straight away is that it's more selfish on my part. You know, there is none of this idea that I'm going over there [China] to impart knowledge to

> these people, 'cause that's rubbish. You learn a hundred times more than you ever, ever give them. Teaching ESL is a horse to ride. I knew it was a pretty good way to get a job overseas. (p. 75)

In short, both Chinese host institutions and foreign teachers have different motivations. These various motivations may lead to different expectations. The mismatched or conflicting expectations can possibly generate an array of problems manifest in the language classroom. The following subsection will explore the possible consequences of these differing motivations in the recruiting practices.

1.2.4 Recruitment Policies, Practices, and Consequences

China maintains a highly centralised educational system that was constructed on the Soviet model in which state control and authority played a crucial role (Li & Walkers, 1997; Szalay et al., 1994; Porter, 1990; Bastid, 1987). Recruitment of foreign teachers is no exception. With the increasing demand for foreign teachers at universities, the Foreign Experts Bureau of the State Council issued guidelines in 1985 regarding *Information on the Recruitment of Foreign Experts* which spelled out the conditions for the recruitment. As language teachers, they

> (1) Should have a relatively high attainment in their own language and literature[3].
>
> (2) Should have been engaged in regular language teaching or the teaching of literature at university or college levels or should have been regular language or literature teachers for five years or more in senior high schools, and possess a senior high school teacher's certificate.
>
> (3) Should have obtained an MA or higher degree.
>
> (Translation by Turner-Gottschang & Reed, 1987, p. 175)

---

[3] In the Chinese understanding, language learning and literary studies are inseparable. The department that engages in foreign language teaching is called "the Department of Foreign Languages and Literature". Therefore one who teaches the language is expected to know literature of the target language.

The conditions are meant to be complied with by host institutions. The recruitment practice, however, presents another side of the picture. Influenced by the "native-speaker fallacy" which may be interpreted as a conception that any native speaker can teach his/her language, many Chinese administrators do not realise that a good language teacher is not born but educated. Misled by the fallacy, pressed for the expertise of English native speakers, coupled with benefits and subsequent reputations from the recruitment, some Chinese administrators of the host institutions tend to ignore the government recruitment requirements. So long as the applicants have an MA or PhD degree, they are likely to be employed, heedless of their past teaching experiences, their speciality and their interest (Price, 1984; Maley, 1986a; Mullane, 1984). The presence of foreign teachers is associated with boosting the image of the institution by having foreigners there as a window dressing in spite of the fact that these foreigners may not be needed. Porter (1990) reports,

> This [the presence of foreign teachers] was just window dressing. They gave us a nice banquet, and they took us to an opera. It was a very fun kind of thing. ... I think they wanted to know what we were thinking. The better to keep an eye on us or to know where dissension is. (p. 64)

It seems that nobody cares whether the employment of foreigners is worth the state money. Maley (1986a) has sharply criticised such Chinese criteria for recruiting foreign teachers: "If it walks, and talks English, and has an MA or Ph.D., it is O.K" (p. 106). He deplores such malpractice in terms of human waste all over China.

> -- with the "see China and die" brigade, who are here for the experience, and are neither qualified for, nor capable of, doing an honest job of teaching.
> -- with teachers of history or whatever, possessing Ph.D.s or M.A.s, completely at sea, trying to come to terms with teaching their own language for the first time.
> -- with well-qualified TESL professional often working well below their capacity on language improvement courses which could clearly be done by less qualified teachers. (pp. 106-107)

There are strongly negative opinions from foreign teachers about such a collage of professionals, the "see China and die" brigade, the non-professionals in EFL/ESL, and the spouses who may not have any qualifications for teaching their language (Porter, 1990). Under such circumstances, the professionals' expertise may be under-used while other people's expertise (or no expertise for some) may be misused or overused (Porter, 1990; Orton, 1990; McIlwrath, 1996). Booz (1983) comments,

> On a people-to-people basis, a good American teacher can create a lot of good will, adding to the large latent amount that is already there in China. A bad one can give ammunition to the xenophobia that is already there in large amounts. (p. 1208)

The Chinese indiscriminate recruitment practice has caused an influx of incompetent foreign teachers, the "rejects" of foreign universities (Porter, 1990), to the Chinese ELT programs. Maley (1986a) has complained that it is a "waste of state money on salaries" to employ unqualified and incompetent foreign teachers, a "waste of student's energy on teachers who do not deserve the effort, [a] waste of expertise being under-used; and [a] waste of goodwill between the teacher, the learner and the institution" (p. 107).

Not only do the Chinese administrators believe in the native-speaker fallacy, many English-speaking speakers also hold the fallacy to be truth. Porter (1990) reported the case of an untrained language teacher who said,

> I feel that even if my methods are not that good, whatever you do as a native speaker you are not going to lose a whole lot. Even if you bomb out, at least they have heard English. (pp. 49-50)

The view indicates that the contribution to Chinese English teaching by such teachers is largely their ability to speak the language rather than professional knowledge of how to teach the language (Maley, 1986a; Mullane, 1984; Orton, 1990). The teaching by unqualified teachers has seriously damaged the reputation of foreign teachers in China. Blatchford (1983) points out,

> I regret to say that while well-meaning, the efforts of some groups in the United States have exploited the notion of friendship and have sent people who were unqualified in the field of teaching English as a foreign language, and in so doing, such organisations have done China -- and the TEFL profession -- a disservice. This has produced disillusionment with TEFL among the Chinese. ... In many cases, good

> will is indeed what is appropriate and that lack of understanding of the principles of second language acquisition does not necessarily mean that an untrained person cannot learn on the job or teach English well. Rather, for the large sums of precious foreign exchange that China is expending, on foreign experts, I wish there were more understanding of expert qualifications in teacher selection. (pp. 1022-1023)

On the part of the students as well as the host institutions, however, their hunger for knowledge, their veneration of the West, and their traditional concern for harmony (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a) have overwhelmed all the complaints and made foreign teachers feel that "no matter what their particular situation, ... their contribution to China's modernisation effort is deeply appreciated" (Turner-Gottschang & Reed, 1987, p. 108).

Inviting foreign teachers to teach at Chinese tertiary institutions is a government policy aimed at catching up with the West in science and technology. The government imperative and public will motivate the Chinese institutions to vie with one another to employ foreign teachers, with varying motives. Foreign teachers going to teach in China also have different motivations. These motivations may lead to both satisfactory and unsatisfactory consequences in ELT programs in China.

1.3 Introduction of the Research Topic

In this section, I will first outline how cultural values and beliefs can exert a powerful influence upon people's perceptions, interpretations, conceptions of teaching and learning, roles, expectations, and classroom behaviour by reviewing relevant literature to provide a theoretical basis for this study. Finally the major themes of this research will be provided.

1.3.1 Theoretical Perspectives

Solutions to the problems being studied cannot be technical ones. Teaching and learning involve many socio-cultural factors, and the inquiry will situate itself in cross-cultural studies by identifying the differences in cultural values and beliefs, which may be possible sources of the problems under investigation. To achieve this aim, this study intends to answer the following overarching question: *How do cultural perceptions of Chinese students and English-speaking teachers in China influence their classroom performance?* The following figure provides the framework of this research:

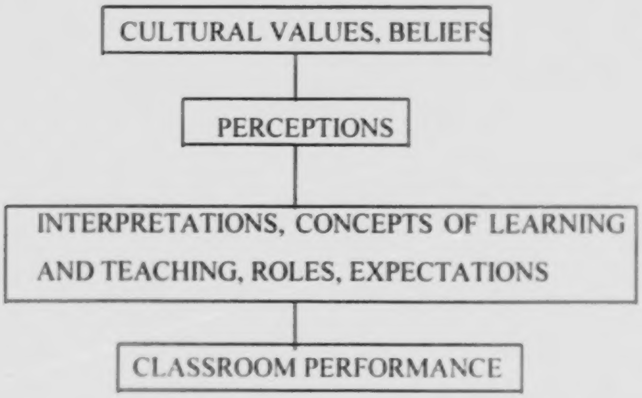
CULTURAL VALUES, BELIEFS
PERCEPTIONS
INTERPRETATIONS, CONCEPTS OF LEARNING AND TEACHING, ROLES, EXPECTATIONS
CLASSROOM PERFORMANCE

Figure 1.1 The framework of the thesis

This study will, as the figure indicates, investigate the influence of cultural values and beliefs on the participants' perceptions, their interpretative frameworks, their concepts of learning and teaching, teacher-student relationships, role expectations, and their classroom performance.

Implied in the figure is the notion that the potential for teacher-student conflicts exists when teachers and students come from different cultures with different cultural values, beliefs and perceptions. Culture, "a source of identity" and "a sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another" (Said, 1993, p. xiii & p. xiv), plays a crucial role in shaping the perceptual processes of teachers and students in such a way that they develop culturally prescribed interpretative frameworks or "perceptual sets" (Porter, 1972, p. 5), which affect their readings and interpretations of the meanings of their classroom performance.

As a part of culture, people's beliefs can also strongly influence their perceptual processes, their meaning-making system and their behaviour (Pepitone, 1994; Pandy, 1990; Clifford, 1993; Ulychny, 1996; Edge, 1996; Richards, 1996). Embedded in socially constructed "ways of life" (Young, 1996, p. 35), and governed by cultural norms, the interpretative framework can generate problems if different participants lack a knowledge of the set of cultural rules used to interpret one another's conduct. In this way, Young believes,

> Meaning is something like a mathematical curve, drawn to fit a set of data points. Sometimes it proves difficult to draw such a curve and the failure to do so highlights certain data points as anomalous or "difficult". It is when this happens that a "communication problem" may be said to have arisen. (p. 120)

It is especially true of intercultural communication where "the problem for intercultural understanding then becomes a problem of incommensurability between sets of rules" (Young, 1996, p. 35), and where people's behaviour does not seem to conform to existing values, beliefs, and expectations. Conflicts become inevitable in spite of the good intentions of all participants. Ryan (1998) draws our attention to "a philosophy of conflict" in which teachers and learners read the text differently. Ryan believes that "it is the interaction that naturally creates tension" (p. 151) in cross-cultural settings.

Disparities in interpretations will result in different role understandings and expectations in the interactional process by which different participants "create, relate, organise and realise meaning" (Riley, 1985, p. 2). Between teachers and students, there exists a role boundary which seriously influences teacher-student roles and expectations (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Craig, 1995), and role conflicts are likely to arise when the boundary is breached and expectations unfulfilled (Coleman, 1996a, 1996b; Shamin, 1996b; Cortazzi, 1990; Widdowson, 1987, 1992b; Thorp, 1991; Lutz, 1990; Hofstede, 1986, 1991; Kramsch, 1994). These culturally-based expectations, derived from social norms and communication rules, intergroup attitudes and stereotypes, are rarely explicitly articulated (Coleman, 1996a; Shamin, 1996a, 1996b; Gudykunst, 1994; Nunan, 1996;

Cortazzi, 1990). However, both teachers and students judge the appropriateness of their actions and the behaviours of teachers on the basis of these expectations. Cortazzi (1990) maintains that it is the degree of proximity of the congruence of teacher-student expectations that plays a significant role in the success or failure of language teaching and learning:

> Where such expectations are congruent, or at least close, language learning will probably be that much easier. If the expectations are very diverse they may well constitute barriers to learning. This is especially likely to be the case when very different expectations are not recognised by teachers and students. (p. 55)

The congruence, however, is difficult to achieve as teachers and students rarely share a common "agenda", even in the same culture, let alone across different cultures (Edge, 1996). Consequently, dissonance is highly likely as all participants tend to perceive one another's behaviour as "illogical", "vague", and "unclear" (Coleman, 1996a, p. 8). The next section relates these cultural issues to an outline of the major themes of this thesis.

1.3.2 Major Themes of the Thesis

The specific subject of this study is cross-cultural perceptions of the place of English-speaking teachers teaching English in China. The main contention is that cultural differences in values and beliefs play a significant role in influencing teacher's and student's perceptions, concepts of teaching and learning, roles, expectations, and meaning-making systems. Teaching methodologies and teachers' mindsets, socio-culturally shaped, become problematic when local relevance and socio-cultural and political concerns are taken into account. Clashes in values and beliefs will inevitably lead to conflicts in teacher-student relationships and in pedagogical practices. The goal of this research is to identify the specific nature of the cross-cultural conflicts surrounding foreign teachers' teaching in China and to explore some possible ways to bridge the differences.

In exporting educational expertise from the contexts in which it is believed to be successful to the Chinese educational contexts, many foreign teachers have experienced enormous difficulties (Yu, 1984; Light & Works, 1984; Morrison, 1989; Ford, 1988; Porter, 1987, 1990; Orton, 1990; McIlwraith, 1996; Pennycook, 1996) since many Chinese teachers and students tend to appreciate their own ways of teaching and learning, which are perceived to be as effective as, or more effective than, Western methods in their cultural contexts (Zhang, 1995; Wan, 1997; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). If this were not the case, it is assumed that Chinese teachers would use Western methods to offset the shortcomings in their own methods (Wu, 1983a, 1983b; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Rao, 1996). Teacher-student conflicts have created a "wall" between foreign teachers and Chinese students (Murray, 1982; Morrison, 1989; Orton, 1990; McKnight, 1994). As a result, the good intentions embraced by all parties seem to have been thwarted (Booz, 1983; Porter, 1990; McIlwratih, 1996; Wan, 1997; Li, 1998b). Some foreign teachers go to China in high spirits, but come back home disappointed, frustrated, and hostile (Maley, 1986a; Porter, 1990; McIlwraith, 1996). The Chinese host institutions also seem to be unhappy with the technological transference and foreign teachers' pedagogical practices (Wu, 1983a; Yu, 1984; Blatchford, 1983; Sampson, 1984; Porter, 1987, 1990; Shu, 1988; Zhang, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Wan, 1997; Li, 1998a, 1998b). The value of expatriate involvement in teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) in China has been called into question (Diamond, 1983; Sun, 1990; McKnight, 1994; Wan, 1997). English teaching pedagogies developed in and monopolised by the West have become problematic in their implementation in the Chinese educational contexts (Maley, 1984, 1985; Yu, 1984; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Pennycook, 1994; McKnight, 1994; Craig, 1995; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Rao, 1996; Wan, 1997; Wen & Johnson, 1997; Li, 1998a, 1998b).

This research is directed to an understanding of the possible sources of the conflicts between Chinese students and foreign teachers informed by cross-cultural perspectives. It is based on a premise that teaching and learning cannot be divorced from the broad socio-cultural and political contexts in which they occur (Edge, 1996; Coleman, 1996a; Pennycook, 1990; 1994; Holliday, 1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1997), and that teachers and students, as an archetypal role pair (Hofstede, 1986), hold differing values, beliefs, perceptions, and meaning-making systems about their roles and responsibilities, derived from their enculturation and socialisation (Allwright, 1996; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Craig, 1995; Bullough et al., 1986), which can cause teacher-student tensions, role conflicts, conceptual conflicts, and miscommunication (Nussbaum & Novick, 1982; Olson, 1992; Fereshteh, 1997).

The roles of foreign teachers in Chinese classrooms cannot be defined easily. They are teachers, language models, cultural ambassadors, value transmitters, and probably "the engineers of the human souls."[4] The diffuseness and diversity of their roles, which do not have a single established equivalence in the Chinese social hierarchies, compound the communicative problems in their interactions with Chinese administrators, students, and teachers (Mahoney, 1990; Muehl & Muehl, 1992; Ross, 1993). Their awarded title of "foreign experts", which entails very high, to the extent of being unrealistic, role expectations (T. Scovel, 1983; Porter, 1990; Ross, 1993), implies the hidden conflicts deriving from unmet expectations (Brennan & Miao, 1982; Maley, 1986a; Harvey, 1985; Shu, 1988; McIlwraith, 1996; Wan, 1997).

Much of these unmet expectations are associated with the cultural differences as manifested in the introduction of Western teaching pedagogies. (Orton, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). The transference of one pedagogical model from one cultural context to another may suggest cultural penetration or cultural imperialism (Pennycook, 1994) which is imperceptible to the participants (Sampson, 1984). Pedagogical incompatibilities become potential sources of misunderstandings and teacher-student clashes (Craig, 1995). In fact, the implementation of teaching methodologies is a form of imposition of cultural values, and cultural compatibility has become a serious issue for consideration (Allwright, 1988; Widdowson, 1993; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a).

Western teaching approaches are often seen as exotic in China and students often become confused with what the teacher expects of them in a seemingly unsupportive environment where the discourse of oracy, discussion, debate and participation becomes the dominant mode of teaching (Shu, 1988; Caiger et al., 1996; Wan, 1997). The Chinese self, shaped through socialisation, tends to act "in accordance with the anticipated expectations of others and social norms" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 228), and seems to become disoriented in the classroom discourse emphasised by foreign teachers (Wan, 1997). The discourse suggests that it can "facilitate an environment conducive to learning" (Garside, 1998, p. 68) by replacing the "outmoded, didactic, lecture and drill-based models of instruction" (Paul, 1990, p. 40), by renouncing the teacher's role as "dispensing knowledge" and "delivering the curriculum" (Schmuck & Schmuck, 1997, p. 259), and by giving students a role of responsibility for their own learning (Craig, 1995). The discourse becomes problematic in the Chinese educational contexts where the authoritative discourse is stressed and the primary role of a teacher as an authority is to teach whereas the major role of a student being an "empty vessel" is to receive, absorb, and digest the knowledge transmitted by the teacher (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Holliday, 1997; Wan, 1997; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Scollon & Scollon,1995; Craig,1995; Lewin et al., 1994; Crook, 1990; Paine, 1992). Chinese students are pulled and pushed by conflicting ideologies and different sets of goals in choosing the most appropriate forms of discourse because every so often "the education or experience which is valued in one system is devalued in one or more of the other systems to which a person belongs" (Scollon & Scollon, 1995, p. 204). The pushing and pulling test Chinese students' accommodating capabilities, add learning alternatives to, or assist them in changing, their epistemological repertoire, widen their visionary horizons, and at the same time create problems in teacher-student relationships when pedagogical relevance is considered.

---

[4] A popular saying in China.

In speaking of pedagogical relevance, Nayar (1989) reminded expatriate teachers not to "vigorously or over-zealously" glorify their teaching methodologies "as the universal ideal" because "the student overseas needs English not to be 'educated, civilised, cultured and cultivated' but only as a tool for specific objective in life" (p. 31). Following this line of argument, English teaching should, therefore, take as its priorities the values, needs and expectations of the particular country, as Widdowson (1994) has put it, "English and English teaching are proper to the extent that they are appropriate, not to the extent that they are appropriated" (p. 389). This view of appropriateness is in line with socio-cultural and political concerns rather than the teacher's own subjective interpretation. Fighting against Chinese tradition and trying to change Chinese cultural values to fit Western models can become counterproductive (Sampson, 1984; Orton, 1990; Garrott, 1992, 1995; Hird, 1996; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a). Violent cultural imposition has to be avoided.

If cultural imposition is to be avoided, expatriate teachers need to be aware of students' cultural values, history, lived experiences, subjectivities (Pennycook, 1994) and the context that influences and shapes their behaviour (Edge, 1996; Pennycook, 1994; Barrow, 1990; Cortazzi, 1990). Teachers' pedagogical adaptation to fit students' learning needs is widely accepted as more desirable than forcing students to comply with teachers' values and beliefs (Widdowson, 1993; Hird, 1996; McLaughlin, 1995; Li, 1998b). Matching teachers' intentions mediated through pedagogies with students' expectations becomes an important task (Kumaravadivelu, 1991). At the same time, Chinese students, teachers and administrators also need to develop cultural competence to accommodate differences, and to make the best use of these differences that are beneficial to break the inertia embedded in their cultural and educational traditions. Change cannot take place when foreign teachers, acting as agents of change, try to promote changes through their expertise while other participants remain distant, unresponsive, or defiant.

Conflicts can be devastating if not well managed, but they can also be very useful if the participants can share, respect, and accommodate one another's views and are willing to adopt an attitude to learn and to challenge their existing fundamental cultural values and beliefs. Establishing synergetic and collaborative cultures will facilitate such accommodating processes (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a). In such cultures, different voices, narratives and counter-narratives can be heard. A fully developed voice can become a form of political action to reshape educational conceptions, and to facilitate a question-posing process and the development of solutions to the problems (Gitlin, 1990; Pennycook, 1994). This research attempts to highlight the voices of four groups of people equally involving in the English language teaching programs in China: foreign teachers, Chinese students, administrators and teachers (an extension of the student category as many of them have been taught by foreign teachers). It is their voices, views, and concerns that become the key elements of this research project.

This study aims to investigate the cross-cultural perceptions of the place of English-speaking teachers teaching English to English language majors in Chinese tertiary institutions. It is based on the premise that differences in beliefs, perceptions, expectations and beliefs reflecting cultural values might contribute to mismatches between teachers' intentions and learners' interpretations, to conflicts in teacher-student relationships, to disparities in participants' perceptual frameworks, and to divergences in pedagogical and role expectations. In order to provide a basis for understanding of perceptions of the place and behaviours of expatriate teachers, Chinese socio-cultural and political contexts are described and a systematic and empirical investigation is undertaken in one geographical setting such that issues as seen by all parties involved can be portrayed.

1.4 Overview of the Study

Chapter One (this chapter) identified the research problem, provided the situational contexts and the theoretical framework related to the study, and outlined the major themes of the research.

Chapter Two provides a review of previous work relevant to the present study. It explores change theories and conditions for conceptual accommodation. Then the chapter It reviews the disparities in role beliefs and expectations between Chinese students and foreign teachers and the consequences of these disparities in pedagogical practices. The research questions derived from the review of literature are presented at the end of the chapter.

Chapter Three describes the methodological foundations of the study. The chapter first presents the major themes of the study, and then it argues for and explains why certain data-collecting instruments were used and why the four study groups were selected for the research. The chapter also discusses the actual data-collecting procedures, methodological limitations, and ethical issues involved in this study.

In Chapter Four, I report the findings from this study in four major paradigms: Chinese perceptions of foreign teachers' positive roles, selection issues and consequences, disparities in pedagogical expectations and teacher-student clashes. The chapter suggests that the problems with foreign teachers' teaching in China are multi-dimensional, involving a myriad of cultural perspectives, misperceptions, and misunderstandings.

The central argument of the thesis is synthesised in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Five analyses the variables in intercultural communications, the diversity and complexities of learner needs, the differences between English as a second language and English as a foreign language, the problematic features of the discourse of oracy and participation, and some major pragmatic constraints related to the Chinese recruitment practices.

Chapter Six is concerned with some possible solutions to the problems. It examines the importance of foreign teachers' awareness in the language, the establishment of collaborative and synergetic cultures to assist all participants in successfully crossing one another's cultural borders. The chapter then presents some views on how to maximise foreign expertise.

Chapter Seven concludes the thesis by outlining the major findings and implications in this study. The aspects of the contribution by this research, and suggestions for future research are discussed at the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

ROLES, EXPECTATIONS, AND PEDAGOGIES

This chapter reviews the literature related to the changing discourse in China and the associated changes in perceptions, roles, beliefs, and expectations. The concept of change and accommodation will be introduced. It is argued that conceptual change is closely associated with participants' interpretative frameworks embedded in their cultural values, beliefs, and expectations. The chapter points out that one's perceptions, subjective in nature, affect one's role expectations and behaviours. Differing perceptions derived from different cultural values and beliefs can contribute significantly to disparities in role beliefs and pedagogical expectations and to clashes in teacher-student relationships. The chapter then will shift its focus to the discussion of the missing paradigm in previous research to justify the present study. Finally, the chapter will present the research questions proposed for this research.

2.1 The Discourse of Change

It was argued in Chapter One that Chinese social needs, the public will and the government imperatives made possible foreign teachers' involvement in ELT in China to upgrade English teaching standards in the country. Foreign teachers and their expertise are often seen as agents of change in the process of Chinese educational and social transformation (Bastid, 1987; Ford, 1988; Porter, 1990; Ji, 1996). The dynamics of social changes and perspectives of globalisation in education and market economy necessitate national educational restructuring (Adamson, 1995; Carnoy, 1998). The discourse of change prevails in every aspect of the Chinese society in the China's drive to upgrade its educational standards to conform to Western educational standards by breaking its national boundaries, by opening itself up to the outside world, and by introducing foreign expertise and innovations (Huang, 1998). To achieve such an aim, foreign teachers' expertise may serve as catalytic agent to accelerate the speed of Chinese educational transformation.

Change has been a catch word in the post-modern era with different meanings and implications (Hargreaves, 1994). Synonymous with the word are terms such as innovation, renewal, restructuring, transformation, re-orientation, evolution, revolution, and modernisation. Change is ubiquitous (Hinings & Greenwood, 1988). The need for change, explicit or implicit, is stimulated by either internal or external forces (Beckhard & Harris, 1987). Change involves individual and organisational intentions, priorities, and plans. Relevant to the present discussion is the concept of planned change. Planned change originates from the need of the system to improve its functioning, to maximise external or internal expertise and to bring about desired outcomes, and it involves a deliberate, intentional and explicit decision to engage in a change program (Levy & Merry, 1986).

Planned change includes two components: first-order change and second-order change. According to Levy and Merry (1986), first-order change refers to changes in one or a few dimensions, levels, or behaviours. It is an evolutionary change. There is rationality, logic, continuity, improvement and development in the same direction and it does not change either the world view or the paradigm. First-order change is a developmental and incremental change "within an ongoing social system adding to it or improving it rather than replacing some of its key elements" (Gerlach & Hines, 1973, p. 8), maintaining the existing systemic equilibrium (Skibbins, 1974; Kindler, 1979), and striving for a fit between what is introduced and the existing fundamental assumptions by "constantly tinkering with one dimension or another" (Sheldon, 1980, p. 64).

In contrast, second-order change, in the view of Levy and Merry (1986), refers to multilevel, multi-dimensional, multi-componential, and multi-aspectual change. It is a qualitative and revolutionary change in context resulting in new paradigms, new world views, and new state of being. It is seemingly irrational and illogical. Second-order change is a radical and fundamental change that replaces the existing system or steers it in a very different direction, leading to "revolutionary growth" (Greiner, 1972, p. 40), to a shift in the existing paradigm, to the change of the system (Grabow & Heskin, 1973), to reconceptualisation of fundamental beliefs (Kindler, 1979), and thus to a new world view.

In the process of second-order change, the existing equilibrium is unsettled and is replaced by an entirely new systemic equilibrium.

The greatest challenge to the implementation of planned change, Golembiewski (1979) argues, is the understanding of human factors in different situational contexts. Change enlarges both the "manageable and meaningful choices" (Golembiewski, 1979, p. 7) as well as the risks of heightened expectations. Making choices depends largely on human cognition, perceptions and interpretations (Maturana & Varela, 1987). Problems often arise as different people have different "interpretative frames" (Scollon & Scollon, 1995, p. 232) and different mental programming (Hofstede, 1986) derived from differing perceptions in different cultures, values, history, politics, and socialisation (Penncycook, 1989, 1990, 1994; Cortazzi, 1990; Cortazii & Jin, 1996a; Tannen, 1979). In this sense, change involves other attributes, such as alteration and rearrangement of human perceptions, conceptions, cognition, norms, rules, and modes of behaviour (Smith, 1976).

Change itself may lead to positive or negative consequences. Planned change may even not be introduced when the probability of success is not high and the inherent shock in people's accommodating capacities cannot be minimised (Golemkiewski, 1979). Conflicts, though disruptive and destructive, can be valuable and productive assets if they are well managed because they can provide opportunities for individuals and organisations to examine and choose options from among contradictory and competing alternatives (Conrad, 1972). Human conceptual growth is also the result of conceptual change in the process of accommodating new and conflicting ideas (Pajares, 1992, 1996). Significantly, it is people's central concepts that act as a vehicle through which to interpret the range of integration of or resistance to new, or contradictory information (Posner et al., 1982; Clark, 1997; Elio & Pelletier, 1997).

Change is often associated with modernity and progress. Smolicz (1988; 1998) contends that there exists a false dichotomy between modernity and tradition. Smolicz asserts that the introduction of modernity should take into account the continuity of a cultural heritage, which, with its resilience, is capable of accommodating modernity for its own survival and vitality. To achieve a positive change, the introduced modernity has to be based upon "the resilient foundation of the country's own cultural heritage," on the "crystallisation of tradition" (p. 16). Smolicz believes that modernity, imposed with disregard for traditional values, will ultimately stunt society's stability, unbalance the process of assimilation and adaptation, and retard rather than enhance social resilience and development. Proposed change, therefore, has to be congruent with traditional values for it to be accepted (Tabulawa, 1998). It follows then that congruence will bring about positive change -- first-order change -- whereas incongruence generated by second-order change is likely to bring about resistance.

Managing the available choices for change, first- or second-order remains with the individuals, administration and policy makers (Marguilies & Wallace, 1973) in light of socio-cultural contexts and social and individual demands. It may be the case that the more social change takes place, the closer one clings to "the same sets of culturally determined values" (Selfe, 1998, p. 17), in spite of the espoused dedications to change. The temptation to maintain perceptual consistency and coherence given meaning by pervasive interpretative assumptions may lead individuals and administrators to make adjustments to be roughly tuned to the existing paradigm rather than replace it completely (Selfe, 1998; Hinings & Greenwood, 1988). In Cook's (1994) view, "Whatever violent battles theorists may indulge in, it would be more to our advantage, I believe, to regard new theories as additions rather than alternatives" (p. 139). In opting for change, administrators tend to implement first-order change rather than the second-order change, which is the last resort -- revolution -- in planned strategies which involve fundamental change in one's beliefs and perceptions (Pajares, 1992).

Whether or not positive changes can be accommodated depends much on the nature of internal rather than external causes. According to Mao (1981), "The external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, but the external causes become operative through internal causes" (p. 13). It is people's cultural values and belief systems that act as a vehicle through which they interpret the range of conflicting information based on their interpretative frames (Posner et al., 1982; Clark, 1997; Elio & Pelletier, 1997; Pajares, 1992, 1996; Mohapatra, 1997) that help them to decide if the new information is intelligible, plausible and fruitful and if their current conception is unsatisfactory (Posner et al., 1982). Accommodation may be facilitated if the introduced change is consistent with recipients' fundamental beliefs, with existing epistemological commitment, with past experiences, and with their expectations about how to solve their existing problems. Accommodation may not take place unless the revision leaves the belief state "closest" to, rather than more distant from, the central concepts (Elio & Pelletier, 1997). It is often the case that planned change occurs within the pervasive assumptions, logic and meanings inherent in the system to be interpreted within an interpretative frame (Hinings & Greenwood, 1988). Change in this sense is the structural adjustment rather than revolution.

Change occurs all the time and the process of change will ultimately lead to the replacement of old beliefs, attitudes, understanding, and behaviours with new ones in a new balanced system (Li Dewei, 1998; O'Sullivan, 1994). Componential and quantitative change will result in qualitative and systemic change. It this sense, first-order change can lead to second-order change in an allowable space of time. Thus, first- and second-order change do not exist in an extreme dichotomy. Rather, second-order change can sometimes be the long-term results of first-order change.

It is the first-order rather than the second-order change that China desires in its efforts to introduce foreign expertise (Orton, 1990; Seaton, 1990; Ross, 1993; Li & Walker, 1997; Huang, 1998; Li Dewei, 1998). Foreign teachers' participation is expected to provide additional options and models in the process of Chinese educational experiments and development, rather than to replace the current educational structures which were the results of a combination of Chinese scholarly tradition with Japanese, Russian, and American models (Hayhoe, 1986, 1991; Bastid, 1987; Porter, 1987, 1990).

In the history of Chinese educational reforms, pedagogical conflicts seem to have existed for centuries since the first group of missionaries began to teach in China (Porter, 1990; Pennycook, 1996). Traditional Chinese teaching methods appear to be so tenacious that new methods of instruction, whether advocated by foreigners or by the Chinese Communist educators, have not been as successful as expected (Ford, 1988). Many foreign teachers have fought resolutely to change the learning situations but without much success (McKnight, 1994; Ford, 1988; Gardner, 1989; Orton, 1990; Porter, 1990; Lin, 1993; Wan, 1997). Their teaching methods do not seem to be well appreciated by the Chinese (Burnaby & Sun; Chen & Leng, 1990; Sun, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Wan, 1997; Li, 1998b). The following description by Gardner (1989) appears to be illuminating:

> Over the centuries, Chinese educators have tried many experiments and have gradually pared away unpromising approaches until they fashioned teaching methods that are speculative at effecting their stated ends. Western interlopers have little, if anything, to contribute to the improvement of these methods. It is rather that the ends

> towards which these methods were created no longer appear immune from criticism. (p. 271)

In such Chinese socio-cultural teaching and learning contexts, resistance to innovative approaches is highly likely to occur (Li, 1984; Garrott, 1992). Direct transference of Western pedagogies into the Chinese classroom seems more problematic than successful (Porter, 1987, 1989; Orton, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a).

The metaphor of grafting or tissue rejection (Holliday, 1992, 1994b) is reflected in Orton's (1990) research findings in relation to foreign teachers' teaching practice in China. She believes that it is simply unrealistic for foreign teachers to graft a Western skin onto a Chinese tree without taking into account the Chinese socio-cultural realities. The grafting may not help Chinese teachers and students to change their existing conceptions about teaching and learning as Chinese teachers and students feel that "the traditional way of teaching has been successful" (Oatey, 1984, p. 357). Foreign teachers' pedagogical innovations could be counterproductive to Chinese ELT programs if foreign teachers were unaware of, or failed to take into account, the culture of learning in Chinese educational settings (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a).

Cumming (1987) warns Western teachers working in China against an erroneous assumption that "Western pedagogical approaches are preferable and need to be adopted in China" (p. 212). Cumming emphasises that the intricate nature of socio-cultural factors and conventions should be taken into account. Teaching which disregards these factors may not promote necessary accommodation -- Chinese willingness to accept what is taught and how it is taught (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). As a result, foreign teachers in China are expected to re-examine the "unspoken assumptions" (McKnight, 1994, p. 39) about their teaching practice if they expect what they advocate to be incorporated and accepted by the Chinese (Sampson, 1984; Oatey, 1990b; Porter, 1990).

Becoming aware of these unspoken assumptions is a first step towards dealing with conceptual accommodation. The core of the issue that hinders accommodation is the relevance and meaningfulness of the imported foreign expertise in terms of the students' interpretative discourses, which are often overlooked by researchers in SLA research (Firth & Wagner, 1997). Mutual accommodation may be possible if Chinese students and foreign teachers have shared agendas and expectations (Brennan & Miao, 1982; Harvey, 1985; Zhang, 1995; Orton, 1990; Byron & Macmillan, 1990; Wan, 1997). The process of accommodation, however, may not be as dramatic as expected because Chinese views are much more evolutionary than revolutionary and the Chinese "place no special premium on novelties or on dramatic reconceptualisations (except perhaps in the political sphere)" (Gardner, 1989, p. 14).

The social setting, the pervasive cultural values, beliefs in and expectations of language teaching and learning are seen as the primary and determining factors in the process of accommodation (Wenden, 1998; Fang, 1996), "based on a set of assumptions about roles, goals, and means to be used by participants in that setting" (Lanolf & Appel, 1994, p. 16). It is these values, beliefs, expectations, and perceptions that shape the components of the setting and "regulatory" activities (Wenden, 1998, p. 530). Differences are bound to arise when people from different settings interact in the language classroom where "an amalgam and permutation of different social realities" (Breen, 1985, p. 144) reflects diverse learning objectives and preferences where the culture of learning as the "hidden curriculum" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, p. 169) remains a powerful and yet invisible force and where teachers and students are often unaware of each other's "agenda" (Holliday, 1994b, p. 159). In such situations, the attempts to deliberately change one's fundamental beliefs can be problematic, if not impossible. It is, therefore, more important, and probably more successful, to identify the differences and to design strategies to bridge these differences than to hide, ignore, or fight against them (Terres & Morrow, 1998; Austin, 1998). A cultural synergy or a public sphere is required to accommodate different cultural values, beliefs, and assumptions (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Terres & Morrow, 1998). This issue will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Summing up, conceptual accommodation occurs only when students are unhappy with their current approaches to learning, when they find the new alternatives meaningful in their interpretative frameworks and consistent with their fundamental beliefs and assumptions about learning and teaching, and when they find they can benefit from new alternatives. It was argued that, foreign teachers' involvement in Chinese ELT programs is to provide English language learning models and pedagogical alternatives, rather than to revolutionise the current Chinese educational system which has some capacity to accommodate new ideas based on its own interpretative discourse. In other words, it is first-order change rather than second-order change that will benefit ELT programs in China. Forceful imposition of foreign models on the Chinese educational system without taking into consideration Chinese tradition, cultural values and expectations would hinder rather than enhance the process of Chinese educational transformation. The following section will further discuss mismatches in role beliefs and expectations and the discussion will highlight the problems under investigation.

2.2 Disparities in Role Beliefs and Expectations

Foreign teachers in China perform the roles ascribed to them by the host institutions. Differing role perceptions and interpretations by all participants can lead to role conflicts. This section will review literature in relation to role theory, role expectations, and role conflicts.

2.2.1 Role Theory

Language teaching and learning takes place in a classroom setting which is subject to sets of conventions derived from "the deeper and less accessible social and psychological dimensions of the teacher-learner relationships" (Wright, 1990, p. 83). The roles of both teachers and students are socio-culturally constructed (Coleman, 1996a; Bullough et al., 1986; Olson, 1992). Central to the teacher-learner classroom interactions are the teacher-learner roles (Hofstede, 1986) mediated by the pedagogy adopted by the teacher (Wright, 1987). Misunderstanding of one's role in the language classroom, which is often the case, may lead to unexpected repercussion in pedagogic innovations in classroom methodology (Coleman, 1996a).

A role is never defined by itself, but is defined in relation to other possible roles (Connell, 1979). In Banton's (1965, p. 29) definition, a role is "set of norms and expectations applied to the incumbents of a particular position." Widdowson (1987) describes roles as "kinds of conventional script, or prescript, which constrain the individual person to assume a persona in conformity to normal and expected patterns of behaviour" (p. 83). A role is associated with the social position held by an individual and the prescribed expectations.

The classroom, both a physical and a social setting, provides a space for the enactment of the teacher-student roles. Each role performer develops a role concept as an approach to "the social structure which locates its basic constraints in stereotyped interpersonal expectations" (Connell, 1979, p. 9). These expectations exist in the interpretations of people performing their prescribed roles. The "prescribers", however, remain anonymous in the social and cultural context (Clarke & Silberstein, 1988). The one assuming the role is expected to conform to the sanctions of the prescribers to enforce expectations (Connell, 1979). There is, therefore, a strong social influence in roles, expectations and behaviour. Wright (1987) believes that expectations and behaviour associated with the prescribed roles are automatically intertwined, and that "the role is governed both by our expectations and the actual behaviour" (p. 5) and by the expectations of others. Expectations emerge from social norms, communication rules, inter-group attitudes and stereotypes (Gudykunst, 1994). Expectations are socialised and internalised by individuals to form part of the personality consisting of a repertoire of learned roles. The role concept acquired in the socialising process, becomes a guideline for the individual's social transactions (Wright, 1987; Widdowson, 1987). The match or mismatch of role expectations is ultimately determined by the individual's perceptions and the interpretations of all performers involved in the role frame (Bignell & Fortune, 1984; Giroux, 1992; Gadman, 1997). In intercultural communications, it is not easy for expatriate personnel to precisely define or understand both their roles and students' expectations (Ellsworth, 1997; Coleman, 1996a). Altering one's role when it is required by situations that "tap contrary values and result in unpredictable behaviour" (Bullough et al., 1986, p. 110) is a formidable task. Role conflicts become inevitable when previously-held role beliefs and consequent behaviours clash with others' role beliefs and expectations (Wright, 1987).

Teachers and students act out their roles assigned by cultural norms, the roles that are so internalised and routinised that they are generally not noticeable (Prabhu, 1992), and that they become visible and problematic only when the prescribed sanctions are violated. In Prabhu's (1992) view, teacher role theories, deeply buried in the classroom routinisation, "may be strongly held but unexamined notions, in the form of beliefs or preconceptions" (p. 237). Prabhu notes that the conventionalised and routinised roles are enforced by the pedagogy that prescribes the patterns of classroom activities and teacher-student interactions. Pedagogy, Prabhu says, helps to settle the balance of different forces at work, and as a result, "the more well-established the routines are, the more settled the balance is" (p. 234). The disturbance of the stability needs a fresh resolution of the conflicts to reach a new stability. Altering routines and norms, Prabhu contends, is at variance with one's belief that is difficult to change, and thus can be unsettling.

In cross-cultural setting, a teacher's role is so diffuse, so diverse and so difficult to delimit that teachers face a constant and uncertain struggle to define and redefine their roles or to understand their roles prescribed by the host institution, and these uncertainties, if not well managed, can lead to role confusion, frustration, and anxiety (Olson, 1992). Teachers have to try to minimise the consequences of the dilemma and student resistance stemming from role conflicts, but cultural barriers often prevent such a teacher endeavour as teachers and students read the text differently (Bullough et al., 1986).

In short, roles are associated with social norms and prescriptions. Role expectations, embedded in the webs of cultural values, conventions, rules, and norms, become guidelines for one's action and behaviour. The teacher-student relationship becomes an archetypal role pattern socially internalised and prescribed (Hofstede, 1986; Oatey, 1990b). Role conflicts are likely to occur when teachers and students have conflicting readings of their respective role expectations (Ellsworth, 1997; McLaren, 1996; Tannen, 1979; Fiske, 1989).

2.2.2 Disparities in Role Beliefs and Expectations

Foreign language teaching is often subservient to the expectations of the tertiary institutions and the cultural norms of the country (Kramsch, 1994). The role of foreign teachers teaching English in Chinese universities is, without exception, prescribed by the government, policy makers, and the Chinese cultural tradition (Sampson, 1984; Porter, 1987, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Ross, 1993; McIlwraith, 1996). As a result, the task of meeting the expectations of the prescribed roles "has quickly become more demanding, complex and consequential" (Cumming, 1987, p. 214) for foreign teachers in China. Changing one's beliefs, attitudes, and role patterns in the teacher-student relationship "mentally programmed in different cultures" (Hofstede, 1986, p. 302) can be problematic. In cross-cultural interactions, especially in hierarchical societies, the confusion in roles and role expectations can impose constraints on the efforts by teachers and students to try to accommodate to each other (Lutz, 1990; Hofstede, 1986, 1991).

The question of teacher-student roles in the language classroom becomes a central issue for the present discussion. Chinese students and foreign teachers can differ dramatically in their perceptions of their roles in the Chinese "role culture" (McIlwraith, 1996, p. 103) that requires each individual to behave within the bounds of their prescribed roles (Byron & Macmillan, 1990). They also differ in the conceptions of knowledge, the language teaching and learning processes, and the teacher's authority in the classroom (Gardner, 1989; Garrott, 1992, 1995; Orton, 1990; Craig, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Wan, 1997; Li, 1998b, 1999).

Traditionally, in China, the teacher's role is socially prescribed as a model, a knowledge transmitter, a learning guide, an authority, an expert, a nurturer, and servant of the state (Paine, 1990; Byron & Macmillan, 1990; Ross, 1993; Craig, 1995), and the student's role as a receiver, a follower, an apprentice, and an audience (Gao, 1993; Hong, 1993; Brick, 1991; Paine, 1990). The role expectations enforce teaching methods, which are teacher-centred, text-oriented and memory-based (Ting, 1987; Harvey, 1985), and the "transmission model of education in which knowledge is passed from the teacher to the learner" (Craig, 1995, p. 42). Authority is believed to reside in stage models or exemplars whose sole responsibility it is to pour knowledge -- correct pronunciation and linguistic forms into the "empty vessel" (Craig, 1995, p. 42). The roles thus defined are so firmly rooted in the tradition and cultural norms that both Chinese students and teachers are accustomed to accepting, without questioning (Orton, 1990; Flowerdew & Miller, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). Teachers hold an assumption that if they do not teach in a teacher-centred lecture style, they may feel guilty of having not taught anything (Orton, 1990). Students accustomed to such practices hold a similar assumption that if the teacher does not teach in a lecture style, they may feel that they cannot learn anything (Oatey, 1990b). Seeing themselves as part of the hierarchy, Chinese students rarely find autonomy comfortable (Gardner, 1989; Ho and Crookall, 1995). Conversely, foreign teachers may feel frustrated working within such a hierarchical role framework. McIlwraith (1996) says, "specialists find it tiring to work within the strict hierarchical network and conventional manners of the Chinese management mode" (p. 104).

What role a teacher or learner has to play remains the interpretation of each member involved in the interaction. However, the behaviour may be misinterpreted, and the misinterpretations may lead to conflict "if roles do not interlock" (Wright, 1987, p. 45). Teachers and students operating with different sets of interpretative frameworks will ultimately lead to misunderstandings (Ellsworth, 1997; Hofstede, 1986, 1991; Tannen, 1979; Gadman, 1997; Berstein, 1996).

In the Chinese educational contexts, the teacher as a role model is held responsible for students' progress and achievements, and the teacher's skilful management of the classroom activities and stage-like performing expertise become social expectations (Paine, 1990; Brick, 1991). The teacher, with the whole learning blueprint in his or her mind, decides what to teach and how to teach. In order to achieve professional perfection -- an idealised role expectation, teachers are expected to serve as an actor/actress, spending years preparing for the final stage performance in the classroom (Paine, 1990; Ross, 1993). Orton (1990) expresses her distress by saying that

> the picture that emerged showed that in some aspects fundamental to my meaning of the word, the Chinese did not teach. Chinese classrooms were not classrooms where teaching and learning occurred, but theatres. (p. 41)

It is the teacher's performing skills that count, but not the teacher-student interactions (Paine, 1990; Gardner, 1989). When the actor/actress is performing, the audience expect him/her not to make any errors in the stage performance which is expected to be coherently and meaningfully timed and organised (Brick, 1991). However, T. Scovel (1983) claims, expecting foreign teachers in China to act like an idealised stage performer may be quite unrealistic.

The most important role prescribed in Chinese educational philosophy is the teacher's teaching performance in knowledge transmission through the use of textbooks (Ting, 1987). Teachers, as well as textbooks, are viewed as the main sources of knowledge (Paine, 1992; Sampson, 1984; Harvey, 1985). In the Chinese epistemological view, knowledge is believed to reside in the teacher-expert (Craig, 1995) as well as in the text, "the core" in teaching and learning (Zhang et al., 1993, p. 196). Teachers rely on textbooks to prepare lessons, organise classroom activities, and assess students' learning outcomes (Ren, 1988). For students, textbooks are an inseparable part of their learning.

Recitation, memorisation, imitation, repetition and analogising are deemed as important approaches to language learning (Hu, 1994; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). The teacher's main task is to transfer knowledge from books to students while acting as their moral and intellectual model (Ross, 1993). The teacher's authority is established on his/her profound knowledge of the prescribed texts and his/her techniques in disseminating it (Sun & Wu, 1986). To many Chinese, Maley (1986a) has argued,

> ... books are thought of as an embodiment of knowledge, wisdom and truth. Knowledge is 'in' the book and can be taken out and put inside the students' heads. Hence the reverence with which books are treated, the value they are assigned, and the wish to learn by heart what they contain. (p. 103)

The student's primary learning task is, therefore, to master the knowledge that the teacher presents from textbooks, to be explicated by the teacher in a logical, systematic and interlocked way (Brick, 1991; Lin, 1995; Sun & Wu, 1986; Li & Gu, 1995; Hong, 1993). In such a class, the teacher's authority is asserted and reinforced by the teacher's use of the "cramming" teaching methodology (Chen, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c), with a firm belief that "originality can emerge within the bounds of discipline" (J. Scovel, 1983, p. 107).

The teacher's authoritarian role in transmission of knowledge from textbooks also rests on the unbelievably difficult learning materials (Ahmed et al., 1991). The texts selected for the Intensive Reading, for example, are far beyond the students' level of comprehension. Everett (1990) points out that

> Teachers themselves frequently have difficulty understanding the text both conceptually and linguistically. If the texts are beyond the teachers' range of comprehensibility, they are most likely to be beyond the range of their students. (p. 178)

Such a practice reinforces the teacher's authority and the student's over-reliance on the teacher. In the end, students become "nothing more than passive receptors of grammatical, lexical, and semantic descriptions" (Everett, 1990, p. 179). In contrast, foreign teachers, who often underestimate students' language proficiency (Wan, 1997), tend to offer students something far below their current level of language competence (Porter, 1990;

48

Oatey, 1990b), and consequently, the complaints that they cannot learn anything from foreign teachers arise once and again (Shu, 1988; Zhang, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Wan, 1997; Li, 1998b, 1999).

Yu (1984) argues that as the Chinese tradition sees the teacher's role as a model for students to follow, and regards "passing on knowledge" (p. 36) to students in the "sacred" teaching occupation as a prerequisite, the lecture format is perceived to be the only "right" way of teaching. It is the teacher's obligation to show students "through the door" by carefully preparing lectures which become an indicator of teaching effectiveness while "declining a request to lecture is often interpreted by the students as a demonstration of a lack of knowledge" (p.36).

Misunderstandings of and conflicts in role expectations arise as Chinese students and foreign teachers rarely share similar views about approaches to learning and thus there are vast differences in their expectations (Oatey, 1990b). These misunderstandings, Cortazzi and Jin (1996b) have observed, have strongly negative effects upon teaching and learning and yet they are unavoidable because both foreign teachers and Chinese students have scant knowledge of each other's culture, especially in their perceptions of the cultures of learning. According to Cortazzi and Jin (1996b), the Chinese culture of learning "emphasises knowledge of vocabulary and grammar, and the result of learning", while "Western cultures of learning stress communicative skills, language use and the process of learning" (p. 199); the Chinese culture of learning emphasises mental, critical and reflective activities while Western cultures emphasise verbal communications. Foreign teachers often base their interpretations of Chinese students' abilities and ways of learning on current Western notions of language teaching and learning, and, as a result, their cultural perceptions tend to view the Chinese culture of learning negatively in terms of "deficit" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, p. 185).

Teachers and students interact according to their respective role expectations and invisible agendas by which they evaluate the appropriateness of their approaches to teaching and learning (Coleman, 1996a). In the Chinese educational context, teachers are expected to lecture and students are expected to listen (Gao, 1993). Light and Works (1984) have found that it is extremely difficult to change such traditional Chinese conceptions of learning. To their surprise,

> despite months of our own demonstrations of alternatives to the lecture as a classroom teaching technique, our participants [Chinese teachers] continued to value highly such activities as "listening to lectures" (84% rated it of highest value or "very important") and "listening to tapes, videotapes, and films" (82% rated this very important"). (p. 272)

Wan (1997) explains that Chinese students tend to expect foreign teachers to lecture in a hope of learning something tangible from them and they also expect them to focus their teaching on a clear explication of the sound system, linguistic structures, and vocabulary items, and to help them "clear away doubts and remove the difficulties in their learning process" (p. 102). It is Chinese students' general assumption, Rao (1996) argues, that "students learn best by listening to and talking to the teacher" (p. 463). In Sun's (1990) view, Chinese students "expect well-prepared classes in which they learn something through listening to their teachers" (p. 79) because they have little or no opportunity to listen to authentic English outside class. Foreign teachers' lack of understanding of Chinese students' expectations and their needs, according to Sun, seem to have led to their failure to fulfil their roles as experts. This issue will be explored in Chapter Four.

2.2.3 Expert, Expertise, and Privileges

The previous discussion of role theory indicated that one's roles are closely associated with expectations in a given social context. Native-speakers employed to teach in China are given special roles to perform. How foreign teachers interpret and enact their roles and how Chinese students respond to the teacher's performance become a compounding issue. Foreign teachers in China are accorded greater prestige than their colleagues (Ross, 1993). "Foreign experts", as the title suggests, will have to assume particular responsibilities ascribed by the host institutions.

Foreign expertise is deferred to and very often idealised. The deference and idealisation suggests disappointment when expectations are not met. Clashes are likely because expertise can never be as perfect as expected, especially in language teaching. Rampton (1995) has outlined five features of expertise with regard to native speakers:

> 1. Although they often do, experts don't have to feel close to what they know a lot about. Expertise is different from identification.
> 2. Expertise is learned, not fixed or innate.
> 3. Expertise is relative. One person's expertise is another person's fool.
> 4. Expertise is partial. People can be expert in several fields, but they are never omniscient.
> 5. To achieve expertise, you go through processes of certification, in which you are judged by others whose standards of assessment can be reviewed and disputed. There is a healthy tradition of challenging experts. (pp. 340-341)

Rampton's statement indicates that it is special education or training that makes one an expert in one field or in some fields, and that being a native speaker with the ability to speak the language does not necessarily mean the person has acquired "expertise" that is required in language classroom. It is "'what you know' rather than 'where you come from'" (Rampton, 1995, p. 341) that claims validity. It is especially so in intercultural settings where foreign expert's authority "is based on the assumption of the primary relevance of linguistic rather than pedagogical expertise" (Widdowson, 1993, p. 265). The foreign expert's role as a *teacher* can, therefore, be called into question in intercultural interactions. Furthermore, as a special privileged class in the Chinese role culture (McIlwraith, 1996), the prestige accorded them is likely to hinder rather than enhance the use of their expertise (Ross, 1993).

It is commonly assumed that experts who possess desired knowledge ready to be transferred unimpeded from the knower to the recipient(s) command legitimate power in the society, a power that is not expected to be challenged (Stehr, 1992). As experts, they are expected, unduly, to "solve the problems which befuddle lay-people at every turn" (Welker, 1991, p. 21). The expert title provides a basis for the hosts to anchor their trust and it also entails greater responsibility than these "experts" themselves can cope with.

Foreign teachers, identified as the "Big Potato" (McIlwraith, 1996, p. 104) with a power equal to or above that of the head of the department, are expected to act out their role and to meet the social and institution's expectations. Maley (1986a) has observed that the Chinese hosts have made every attempt to make these foreign experts comfortable at great expense by offering them special privileges (also see Thurston, 1983; Price, 1984).

Foreign teachers are given privileges that ordinary Chinese administrators and teachers cannot imagine: feasts, free holiday trips, free accommodation, large offices, high salaries, the best cooks in the city, and so on (Turner-Gottschang & Reed, 1987; Oatey, 1990b). Ross (1993) reported that she nursed a sense of sympathy for the Chinese teachers and a sense of guilt because they were poorly paid while she received a salary about eight times that of an ordinary local teacher. These special privileges, however, could only create a communication barrier between the foreign guests and their Chinese colleagues and students, and widen the gap between the title owner and the general public. The good will of the host institution is, therefore, likely to be undermined by the prescribed treatment of foreign experts, the term being a putdown of Chinese colleagues (Diamond, 1983), contributing to the social isolation of the title owners. Diamond (1983) views such special privileges as a constraint to foreign teachers.

> Not only did we receive much higher salaries, we were given unwanted privileges that many thought were our demands. Who knows how many of our students and colleagues thought we had insisted on hotel residence (living in unimaginable luxury), separate dining quarters, or the chauffeured limousine? (p. 1198)

Such privileges entail high expectations, realistic or unrealistic, on the part of the Chinese host institutions. Failure to meet these socially prescribed expectations is likely to cause dissatisfactions. Diamond (1983) argues,

> It is hard to be liked when you have privileges denied to others and are accused of trying to take away some of the small comforts they have. I'm not suggesting that we were totally blameless, but I think we tried to be at our best. (p. 1199)

The high status and privileges are likely to prevent foreign teachers from "integrating fairly closely with the Chinese colleagues and students" and, as a result, "large numbers of foreign teachers return from China with dampened enthusiasm, feelings of disappointment, and in some cases bitterness and rancour" (Maley, 1986a, pp. 108-109), a bitter feeling derived from cultural exclusion and extreme isolation (Porter, 1987, 1990).

Foreign teachers' privileged status serves as an obstacle, preventing them from assuming an equal status with their Chinese colleagues (Oatey, 1990b; Wu, 1983b) and it "complicates relationship issues" (Oatey, 1990b, p. 260). In Oatey's view, such a hierarchical power deference to their foreign specialists, on the part of the Chinese colleagues, would develop a misconception among foreign teachers that they were the authority and they had the final answer to all problems in teaching. The arrogance and superiority, as perceived by the Chinese, may have barred the Chinese from making friends and sharing their views and experiences with them (Wu, 1983; Sampson, 1984). And as a result, Oatey (1990b) concludes that

> consciously or subconsciously, they [foreign teachers] may believe that they alone possess the "good news." They may not realise the extent to which their ideas need modifying if they are to be maximally effective in a Chinese context, and so they may cause offence by conveying an air of superiority. (p. 259)

The air of superiority, Oatey argues, could alienate the Chinese colleagues who might feel embarrassed for their language inferiority and shame in the presence of foreign teachers. The physical and psychological walls erected between foreign teachers and their colleagues and students made foreign teachers' pedagogical implementation and cultural adaptation extremely difficult (Porter, 1987, 1990; Li, 1999)

The perceived inequality and expatriate teachers' air of superiority may be derived from the perception that they might bring the key to wealth and prosperity as enjoyed by those world more developed and powerful countries (Nayar, 1989; Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996). As a result, "their role as givers and providers of knowledge, technology, and economic assistance contributes to a perception of a superior status" (Nayar, 1989, p. 29). But when the hosts realise that these experts cannot provide what they need, frustration and disappointment are inevitable. Consequently, the Chinese may resent their presence, and show a strong resistance in relation to pedagogical innovations advocated by foreign specialists (Utley, 1990; Li, 1998b, 1999).

To sum up, it was pointed out in this section that a role is socially and culturally prescribed. It is relatively stable and not easily changed. Each person is expected to behave within the bounds of the role framework and deviance can cause disequilibrium. By using role theory, I have examined teacher-student roles and expectations in the Chinese EFL contexts. Teachers in China assume an authoritative role and students a fairly passive one. Such role concepts reinforce the use of teacher- and text-oriented teaching approaches. Altering the prescribed roles is likely to cause serious conflicts, which might contribute to many foreign teachers' difficulties in their teaching in China. The problem appears to have been compounded by these foreign teachers' socially accorded special privileges and status that entail high, or even unrealistic, expectations. Failure to meet these expectations may lead to disappointment, clashes and hostility.

The classroom is the place where the teacher-students roles and expectations are fulfilled through the mediation of pedagogy (Esland, 1971; Wright, 1987; Widdowson, 1992a, 1993). Whether the role is appropriately performed is determined by the participants' interpretations based on their role beliefs and expectations. I will now shift my focus of discussion to the role conflicts in pedagogical expectations between foreign teachers and Chinese students by examining the socio-cultural nature of pedagogies and the difficulties of pedagogical fits in intercultural interactions.

2.3 Disparities in Pedagogical Expectations

Teachers, native or non-native, enact pedagogies based on their epistemological beliefs, professional ideology (Esland, 1971; Ellsworth, 1997; Prabhu, 1996; Shamin, 1996b), and interpretative frameworks (Berstein, 1996; Coleman, 1996a; Young, 1996). The accuracy of their perceptions and interpretations of the contexts are generally shaped by their cultural perspectives (Wenden, 1998; McGroarty, 1998; Allwright, 1996; Cabello & Burstein, 1995; Barrow, 1990; Tannen, 1979). The degree of accuracy in interpretation, however, is largely a subjective rather than an "objective reality" (Watkins, 1996, p. 6). Problems can arise if the teachers and students come from different cultures, each with different sets of expectations stemming from their respective cultural values and beliefs (Coleman, 1996a; Allwright, 1996; Barrow, 1990; Cortazzi, 1990; Spradley & McCurdy,1984; Brislin, 1993; Giroux, 1992; Gudykunst, 1994). Conflicting expectations are likely to influence both teaching and learning outcomes (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Sheppard & Gilbert, 1991; Scollon & Scollon, 1995). However, these expectations are not often observable, nor are they articulated explicitly and this makes it extremely difficult for expatriate teachers to find a "fit" in their pedagogic actions (Young, 1996).

Yet pedagogic congruence is a crucial contributing factor in determining the success or failure of teaching and learning (Cortazzi, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a). As the expectations of teachers and learners are diverse, they pose potential barriers to successful teaching and learning, and this is especially true when the course participants fail to recognise these barriers (Cortazzi, 1990; Smith, 1997; Orton, 1995; Holliday, 1996).

The pedagogical fit, however, is determined by the match between the teacher's epistemological and pedagogical perspectives and the learner's beliefs in learning and the socio-cultural contexts (Esland, 1971). Yet, pedagogy is a socio-cultural product which contains socially-approved methods and is therefore the imposition of cultural values by an arbitrary power (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Pedagogical transmitters, Bourdieu and Passeron note, are expected to transmit what fits the socially approved pedagogical sanctions and the pedagogical receivers are expected to receive and internalise the transmitted message. Pedagogy is shaped by specific cultural values and ideology suitable to the society where the pedagogy originates (Prabhu, 1996; Holliday, 1996, 1997; Barrow, 1990; Cortazzi, 1990). Pedagogy, therefore, maintains its own cultural identity (Berstein & Solomon, 1999).

In Schutz's (1964) view, pedagogy "consists of a set of systems of relevant typification, of typical solutions for practical and theoretical problems, of typical precepts for typical behaviour" (p. 348). Esland (1971) claims that pedagogy provides "frames of reference and methodologies which guide the selection of data and the conferral of validity" (p. 84). Implied in the discussion is the socio-cultural nature of pedagogy. It is embedded in a conceptualisation of the local structural conditions, power and control, ideology, and discursive rules that generate practice of inclusion and exclusion (Holliday, 1994b, 1996, 1997; Berstein, 1996; Harrison, 1990; Barrow, 1990). It constitutes and constrains the possibility of transformation, reproduction and resistance by students and teachers (Luke, 1996). In other words, pedagogy can serve as a powerful agency of change if a pedagogic fit can be achieved, but unfortunately such a perfect fit can rarely be achieved in cross-cultural communications (Ellsworth, 1997; Pennycook, 1989, 1990, 1994; Widdowson, 1992a, 1993).

Expecting expatriate teachers in China to achieve a perfect pedagogical fit seems unrealistic. Transferring the pedagogical norms internalised by the native speakers to another culture that are entirely different from theirs can cause serious problems (Hofstede, 1986, 1991; Phillipson, 1992, 1996; Allwright, 1996; Sampson, 1984;

Holliday, 1994a, 1994b; Widdowson, 1993). The problems can become particularly acute with a teacher whose pedagogy is based on relatively weak inferential structures, or on a sparse and restricted rationale (Esland, 1971; Holliday, 1996; Barrow, 1990; Cortazzi, 1990).

Foreign teachers in China, experienced or inexperienced, may expect that their teaching will be appreciated by Chinese students and colleagues, that their ideas, beliefs, or theories are shared, that they have a supportive academic environment in which to implement their pedagogies, and that they will have freedom to choose whatever teaching materials and use whatever teaching methods (Porter, 1990; T. Scovel, 1983; Brennan & Miao, 1982), because, as they might assume, they have been invited to contribute their expertise to the Chinese educational reforms (Porter, 1987, 1990; Orton, 1990; Ford, 1988; McIlwraith, 1996). However, Yu (1984) warns that foreign teachers with such expectations are subject to disappointment and frustration. The reality is quite different from their idealised world (Wu, 1983a; Dzau, 1990a).

Once in the classroom in China, foreign teachers are involved in a diverse and complex Chinese cultural environment. As indicated above, teaching and learning are contexually dependent (Entwistle & Entwistle, 1991; Pandy, 1990; Trigwell & Prosser, 1991). Cultural contexts can affect people's conceptions, values, beliefs, behaviour and perceptual skills and expectations (Tannen, 1979; Allwright, 1996; Pandy, 1990; Cabello & Burstein, 1995; Myrskog, 1998). Many foreign teachers, not knowing the Chinese culture and the Chinese language (Zhang, 1995), have to rely on the prior experiences and belief systems about teaching and learning that they have acquired from their home cultures to interpret their teaching tasks and teacher-student relationships in the foreign culture. The interpretations, generally based on personal perceptions, can often be misleading and problematic (Orton, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996b; T. Scovel, 1983). One of the problems is to precisely identify the students' learning needs and expectations (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Wu, 1983a, 1983b; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Sun, 1990; Garrott, 1992, 1995; Wen & Johnson, 1997). Although "foreign teachers would do well to let themselves be taught by their students," to be aware "of what learners consider most important, or of what learners prize -- or despise" (Garrott, 1992, p. 2), cultural misunderstanding is generally a constraint. Holliday (1994b) points out that it is often difficult for most expatriate teachers

> to know enough about how learning might be affected by the attitudes and expectations that people bring to the learning situation, which are influenced by social forces with both the institution and the wider community outside the classroom, and which in turn influence the ways in which people deal with each other in the classroom. (pp. 9-10)

Holliday (1994b) contends that expatriate teachers who do not know much about the host culture and language may fail to understand student reactions in a context that is "confusingly varied and unpredictable" (p.151). His argument is well supported by Oxford and Anderson (1995) who claim that when teachers fail to recognise learners' expectations, students will react negatively to the instruction. They argue that teacher-student conflicts could arise from the teachers' failure to understand the students' learning needs and expectations. Reliance on their past teaching experience and public and personal theories may often lead to frustration (Harvey, 1985; Orton, 1990; Porter, 1987, 1990; Li, 1998b, 1999).

Like the foreign teachers, Chinese students come to the class with their pre-existing knowledge of what "appropriate" teaching and learning should be like in their long process of socialisation (Allwright, 1996; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Orton, 1990; Young, 1987) and thus they tend to evaluate new teaching methods in the light of their preconceptions and expectancies. Dissonance or inconsistency is likely to occur if the introduced pedagogic innovations are inconsistent with previously held beliefs and schemata when foreign teachers, who might misunderstand, ignore, or intend to change the Chinese cultural landscape or the classroom culture (Young, 1987; Biggs, 1996; Wan, 1997), employ teaching approaches that may contradict students' expectations based on their situated beliefs (Cortazzi, 1990).

The match or mismatch of the beliefs and expectations between foreign teachers and Chinese students becomes a crucial issue for English teaching in China (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). T. Scovel (1983) has observed that foreign teachers usually hold misconceptions about Chinese learners and about their roles as experts in English teaching in China. He has found that foreign teachers were eager to propound the pedagogy popular in the West, which emphasises the importance of individual learning and an egocentric approach, in a social context where collectivist interest prevails over individual aspirations, and they very often feel "pleased that these methods are so rapidly assimilated, mistaking quiet graciousness for loud acclaim" (T. Scovel, 1983, p. 89). Scovel's remark indicates that there is a polite resistance to the propounded teaching methods. He attributes the teacher-student conflicts to "false hopes and superficial expectations" (pp. 89-90) and unattainable goals based on cultural misconceptions from all parties involved. T. Scovel is sure that more contacts will not reduce, but rather magnify, misunderstanding if these false hopes and unfair expectations are not identified and eliminated.

Pedagogical innovations initiated by expatriate teachers in the classroom require a redefinition of teacher/learner roles, knowledge and learning within the boundaries of the desired objectives of the syllabus (Shamin, 1996b). In the process of redefinition, however, dissonance and clashes, though not intended, are inevitable when communication distortions arises in the social relationships of teacher's domination and learners' subordination (Young, 1996). In such situations, Young (1996) argues, the "existential validity claims made by the dominant party" become "definitive" (p. 125), and as a result, in such unequal social relationships,

> Communicative distortion adds a new, social structural layer of difficulty, due to socially defined relationships, often power relationships, creating obstacles to communicative problems solving by closing off available avenues of discursive repair of communicative failures. (p. 125)

Thus, in spite of the extreme cautions taken by foreign teachers, cultural imposition and clashes become unavoidable (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a).

Such clashes, in Cortazzi's (1990) view, are derived from differing and widening cultural perceptions and expectations of what constitutes "good" and "bad" teaching and learning. Cortazzi (1990) explains,

> Unexplained violation of the expected norm by teachers enthusiastically embracing communicative approaches may lead to the diminution of their status and perceived competence in learners' eyes. The teacher is not behaving in ways learners have come to expect good teachers to behave. Since learners do not expect to learn much from a bad teacher, a cycle of expectations with possibly deleterious effects (like the self-fulfilling prophecy) is set in motion. The learners' feelings are not likely to be voiced, especially if courtesy, respect for teachers, and lack of face-to-face conflicts are part of

> the reasons for their reluctance to participate. If culturally oriented to individual learning, the teacher may draw erroneous conclusions about their academic ability or personality. This, in turn, may lead to the teacher lowering his or her expectations of student performance, setting in motion another self-fulfilling prophecy. The expectation gap thus widens with implications for both teaching and learning. (p. 59)

Thus, foreign teachers' teaching, often believed to be of low standard, aimed at a low-level proficiency, is not appreciated by a majority of Chinese students because it fails to match their expectations (Wan, 1997; Sun, 1990; Li, 1998b, 1999).

In introducing Western teaching methods to China, some foreign teachers seem to expect China to accept these methods without any reservation, because these methods, imported from developed countries to underdeveloped countries, are believed to be always in the right, and if there is anything wrong, the Chinese are at fault (Patrie & Daum, 1980; Sampson, 1984; Cumming, 1987; Orton, 1990). Proudly, these foreign teachers have introduced their methods without ever thinking "if they are compatible with the Chinese system, institutions and traditions or are desirable, feasible or practicable in China" (Nayar, 1989, p. 29). Shu (1988) has made the following angry remarks on foreign teachers' imposing attitudes in China:

> Obviously, these English-speaking ESL experts and teachers from scientifically and technologically developed countries have somehow got the idea that everything produced in their countries is highly developed, advanced and modern, from science and technology to educational theories and teaching methodologies.... English speaking ESL experts base their criticism and judgement on the ESL teaching theories developed in their own country with the presumption that those theories are universal and applicable all over the world. (as cited in Nayar, 1989, p. 29)

Harvey (1985) has also observed that some foreign teachers, as strong proponents of Western teaching methods, assumed an arrogant attitude, and he warns,

> the 'we've got it right' attitude is a waste of time in China. Even if it is true, nobody wants to hear it, except possibly those who have little or nothing to do with teaching. (p. 186)

Orton (1990) holds similar views. She says that many foreign teachers in China assume that

> they were there to pass on to a receptive group the knowledge and skills from their own professional milieu and they had little expectation of a gulf between the Chinese and themselves. While they nominate pressures from the Chinese tradition and the wider curriculum as obstacles to success, none seem to have felt the need to explore these areas. (p. 18)

There exists a vast gulf of perceptions and expectations between foreign teachers and Chinese students.

The gulf, according to Cortazzi (1990), originates from differing perspectives and expectations that are "matrix of assumptions" (p. 55) by which teachers and students make sense of their world. Cortazzi holds that it is the beliefs, attitudes, expectations and interpretative frameworks of the participants, through their socialisation, that have created inherent obstacles for successful language teaching, and that it is the teachers' unconscious violation of students' educational and cultural expectations or norms that unsettles the eco-systematic balance and stability and thus generates communication problems. As each party bases his/her interpretations on his/her own cultural values and beliefs, it is often the case that a mathematical tangent point cannot be easily found as people from different cultural backgrounds rarely have similar beliefs, assumptions and attitudes (Young, 1996; Gudykunst, 1995; Hofstede, 1986, 1991). The differing expectations, derived from different cultural sources, may or may not coincide or overlap, may be partially, completely, or never realised (Coleman, 1996a). In pedagogical transference, in Ellsworth's (1997) view, multiple forces, such as interpretative frameworks, meanings and operations of history, socio-cultural differences, and students' conscious and unconscious knowledge and desires, can all only widen the gap and interfere with pedagogical fit. In addition, working in unpredictable, rugged cultural terrains, expatriate teachers are likely to fail to "harness, control, or technologise" (Ellsworth, 1997, p. 38) what they believe in and advocate.

The powerful influence of socio-cultural differences and traditions has made foreign teachers and Chinese students and teachers unwilling and unconscious victims. Cumming (1987) has found that

> Within the context of individual language programs, Chinese and foreign teachers appear to have learned less from one another through their ongoing professional relations than either side would, ideally, like them to have learned. Colleagues from different cultures work alongside one another but fail to appreciate the value of one another's backgrounds or perspectives. (p. 218)

Chinese students' complaints, disappointment and frustration arise in the clashes with foreign teachers' teaching practice (Tao, 1980; Oatey, 1990a, 1990b; Zhang, 1995; Garrott, 1992, 1995; Li, 1998b, 1999) since their teaching methods seem to run counter to "long and deeply held beliefs on both sides about the teacher-student relationship and about what constitutes a proper classroom lesson" (Barnes, 1990, p. 188) and are perceived to be unsuitable to the needs of the Chinese students (Grabe & Mahon, 1981; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Yu, 1984; Wan, 1997; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). Chinese teachers have often responded to Western methodologies with a lack of comprehension, reluctance, scepticism, or resistance (Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Oatey, 1990b; Morrison, 1989; Orton, 1990; McIlwraith, 1996; Rao, 1996; Zhang, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Wan, 1997). Chinese host institutions have begun to question the value of the employment and appropriateness of Western teaching methods in the Chinese context (Sun, 1990; Wan, 1997).

In short, pedagogy is a cultural reproduction based on certain cultural values and expectations. A perfect pedagogical fit appears to be too ideal to be achieved, yet it is something pedagogic practitioners strive for. The central issue in pedagogical disparities is the powerful influence of interpretative discourse based on cultural values, belief systems, and fundamental assumptions surrounding the conceptualisation of teaching and learning. In transferring Western educational technologies to China, foreign teachers, unaware of the vast gaps between their innovations and Chinese students' interpretations. How these gaps have contributed to teacher-student conflicts and misunderstanding in the Chinese educational setting and how these culturally-induced conflicts and misunderstanding have affected teaching and learning outcomes will be explored in Chapters Four and Five.

2.4 *Missing Perspectives*

The previous review of the relevant literature, from theoretical perspectives, discussed the role conflict, expectation conflict and teaching-learning conflict between teachers and students. No one study has included the perspectives of all participants. Each study has omitted certain perspectives. A large body of the research literature related to the studies of English language teaching in China, much of which has been conducted by Western teachers, researchers and scholars, has largely focused on Chinese student learning behaviours, on teaching and learning cultures, on teacher education, and on methodological (mis)matches in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic contexts. For example, the collection of articles in *The Chinese Learner: Cultural, Psychological and Contextual Influences*, edited by D. Watkins and J. Biggs (1996), looks into the domains associated with "the paradox of the Chinese learner." At the heart of the book is the question: how can Chinese learners be so successful academically when their teaching and learning appears to be so focused on rote memorisation? The solution to the paradox was sought in terms of personality and cognitive constructs based on their cultural context. Gardner (1989), Stevenson and Stigler (1992) researched the Chinese learning and teaching styles, Chinese educational philosophy and cultural values. Other studies focused on Chinese learners' learning strategies (Matalene, 1985; Field, 1985; Jachnowitz, 1986; Wong, 1988; Ting, 1996; Pennycook, 1996; Melton, 1990; Caiger, et al, 1996; Wen & Johnson, 1997), Chinese attitudes towards knowledge reflected in teaching and learning (T. Scovel, 1983; J. Scovel, 1983; Sampson, 1984; Young, 1987; Turner-Gottschang & Reed, 1987; Brick, 1991; Hong, 1993; Garrott, 1992, 1995; Orton, 1990; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Alptekin, 1988; Smith, 1997; Scollon & Scollon, 1995), Chinese socio-political and cultural influences upon English language teaching and learning (J. Scovel, 1983; Cumming, 1987; Ford, 1988; Porter, 1987, 1990; Ross, 1992, 1993), differences between Western and Chinese cultures of learning (Yu, 1984; Sampson, 1984; Ting, 1987; Scovel, 1994; Ho & Crookall, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b), the boundary discourse in intercultural communications (Sampson, 1984; Orton, 1990; McKnight, 1994; Craig, 1995; Caiger et al, 1996), disparities in roles and expectations (Brennan &

Miao, 1982; Scovel, 1983; Harvey, 1985; Maley, 1986a; Cumming, 1987; Byron & Macmillan, 1990; Ho & Crookall, 1995; Li, 1998a, 1998b, 1999), teacher education (Maley, 1984; Orton, 1990; Barnes, 1990; Oatey, 1990a, 1990b; Sunderland, 1990; Paine, 1990, 1992; Adamson, 1995), cultural incompatibilities in relation to imported Western teaching methods in Chinese cultural contexts (Grabe & Mahon, 1981; T. Scovel, 1983; Wu, 1983a, 1983b; Yu, 1984; Maley, 1985; 1986b; Harvey, 1985; Shu, 1988; Burnaby and Sun, 1989; White, 1990; Sun, 1990; Orton, 1990, 1995; Zhang, 1995; Flowerdew & Miller, 1996; Flowerdew, 1998; Hird, 1996; Yao, 1996; Wan, 1997), and difficulties encountered by Western teachers in China (Murray, 1982; Maley, 1984, 1996a; Price, 1984; Oatey, 1984; 1990a, 1990b; Morrison, 1989; Porter, 1987, 1990; Orton, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; McKnight, 1994; Maley, 1986a; McIlwraith, 1996).

These studies have contributed significantly to the understanding of Chinese learners and teachers, their attitudes towards teaching and learning, their classroom behaviours, and to the understanding of the English language teaching situations in China where foreign teachers have been involved. To my knowledge, however, there is a paucity of systematic and empirical research that may enable Chinese views, especially Chinese learners' views, on Western teachers' classroom performance to be contrasted with other views. Porter (1990) indeed conducted a survey in China through interviews with randomly sampled populations in Beijing and Henan. In his study, the perceptions of the roles of foreign teachers in English language teaching in China were investigated. His research, however, did not involve any Chinese students of English. Orton's (1990) research focused on how to train Chinese teachers of English to use a reflective approach in teaching. Although she mentioned how the Chinese students responded to her teaching, the size of the population involved in her survey was too small to make insightful generalisations. Sun (1990), Wan (1997) and Zhang (1995) reported their negative views about foreign teachers' teaching, based on their own learning experiences and classroom observations, but they did not provide hard evidence to support their views. Burnaby and Sun (1989) reported the views of 24 Chinese teachers of English on the appropriateness and effectiveness of "Western" language-teaching methods for use in Chinese situations. The study looked into Chinese teachers' attitudes towards the communicative approach rather than their attitudes towards English language teachers who had implemented the approach in China. Garrott's (1995) research, involving 512 Chinese students from 15 colleges and universities in China, identified Chinese students' attitudes towards English language teaching and learning. It did not include either Chinese teachers, Chinese administrators, or foreign teachers, nor did it mention Chinese perceptions of Western teaching. The survey conducted in China by Cortazzi and Jin (1996a) in 1993-1994 is also worth mentioning. This study surveyed 15 Western teachers of English working in Chinese universities and 105 university students majoring in tourism and economics in Chinese universities. Western teachers' views about the strong and weak points of Chinese learning styles were collected through interviews, while the students' views of Western teaching were gathered through essays. The study, however, did not examine the same or identical variables, i.e. the respondents' perceptions of the contribution of Western teachers' teaching. How Chinese students, teachers administrators, and foreign teachers themselves perceive foreign teachers' teaching in any one geographical context is also missing or neglected in the literature. These neglected domains of research constitute what Shulman (1986) referred to as "the missing paradigm" in research on teaching in intercultural settings. The present study will fill such a gap and offer a new means of systematically and empirically researching an area which has been largely the domain of sporadic and incidental comments.

2.5 Chapter Summary and Research Questions

The chapter has indicated that the pervasive changing discourse throughout the country in an effort to change some Chinese fundamental values and beliefs about language teaching and learning is likely to upset the existing eco-systematic balance. However, the Chinese views about change can be more divergent than convergent. Caught in such an intricate situation, foreign teachers' pedagogical innovations face different interpretations by Chinese administrators, teachers and students based on their own cultural values, beliefs, perceptions, and expectations. Derived from different cultural backgrounds, foreign expertise does not seem to match, or is even at odds with, these beliefs and expectations. The pedagogies introduced by foreign teachers seem to have been more counterproductive than otherwise.

Varying perceptions are likely to reflect variations in performances, behaviours, expectations, and interpretations (Bateson, 1979). Perceptions held by teachers and students are an important interpretative mediator of the classroom proceedings and the self-concepts, beliefs, and expectations (Schunk, 1992). People's perceptions of other people are based on the perceiver's culture, needs, expectations, and background experiences; therefore they are highly selective and biased in terms of subjectivities (Gudykunst, 1994; Bateson, 1979). An individual's beliefs and life experiences may bias his/her perceptions by providing a lens through which to interpret other's behaviour and to categorise his/her expectations (Gudykunst, 1994). As a result, perceptions of students and teachers may have an enormous impact on their respective expectations and classroom behaviours.

The literature review suggests that the perceptions of teachers and students can affect their role expectations. Roles, however, are culturally prescribed and sanctioned. The prescriptions are largely invisible, yet very powerful in regulating people's social behaviours and responsibilities . The teacher-student role expectations are, to a great extent, mediated through pedagogy (Esland, 1984) which is itself a cultural product (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Kramsch, 1994). Foreign teachers, from culturally different backgrounds, with a status and a position of "foreign expert" or "foreign teacher", are expected to fulfil the role expectations prescribed invisibly by the Chinese cultural contexts. Foreign teachers, with their pedagogical beliefs inherited from their own cultural backgrounds, may find it extremely difficult to precisely identify the learning needs of the students and to locate a pedagogical fit in their teaching. Differing perceptions of each other's role and role expectations and the subsequent types of performance inevitably cause role conflicts, i.e. teacher-student confrontations. Teacher-student clashes are likely when foreign teachers try to encourage the Chinese students to change their roles by adopting foreign verbal behaviours and mindsets, but the students will maintain their prescribed roles by insisting on using transmitted knowledge. At the same time, foreign teachers play a game according to the invisible "rules" established by the host institution, the "rules" that they are unaware of or are unable to know. They are thus put in a vulnerable situation where each individual performance is evaluated according to these "rules". As a result, their pedagogical innovations, based on foreign teachers' own judgement and interpretations, do not seem to match, or even clash with, the expectations and the needs of the students. There exists a boundary, generated by cultural differences,

65

that keeps both foreign teachers and Chinese students far apart. It is almost impossible to remove such a boundary as there is no "cultural universalism" (Young, 1996, p. 5) and cultural differences cannot be easily theorised. If the underlying sources of the conflicts were left unidentified and strategies were not designed, the pedagogical communication problems would persist or become even more acute with more cultural encounters.

The present study is concerned with the impact of cultural values and beliefs on the four groups of people: foreign teachers, Chinese students, teachers and administrators. Their cultural values and beliefs help shape their perceptions, their meaning-making systems, their concepts of teaching and learning, their cultural and role expectations, and evaluation of their behaviours. This research will try to identify the cultural differences that may be the underlying potential sources of teacher-student conflicts manifest in the introduction of pedagogical innovations. It is hoped that the identification of fundamental causes of the existing problems in intercultural communications will contribute to problem solutions, or, at least, to bridging the gaps that have caused misunderstanding and clashes, or, in another metaphor, to creating a "buffer zone" in which conflicting or competing ideas coexist. The following research questions are proposed for this research:

1. How do cultural values and beliefs of the Chinese students, Chinese teachers of English, and English-speaking teachers in China influence their perceptions and the concepts of language teaching and learning?
2. How do these perceptions influence their expectations, interpretations of their individual roles, and their performance?
3. Are there any discrepancies in their perceptions? If there are discrepancies between any of these perceptions, how do they influence English-speaking teachers' teaching and the perceptions of their teaching outcomes?
4. Are there any possible ways to resolve these discrepancies?

To explore these issues, an appropriate research methodology is needed. The following chapter provides a description of and the rationale for the research methods used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employs both qualitative and quantitative methods, determined by the nature of the research problems identified in the previous chapter and the objective of the research. A qualitative mode is used to enable the researcher to focus on the complexities of the research problems embedded in the social fabric (Burns, 1994; Lazaraton, 1995) while a quantitative approach is employed to facilitate the measuring of frequency distributions and magnitude of variables (Chaudron, 1988) identified in the literature review. Interviews (individual interviews, group interviews) and questionnaires are the main data collection instruments of the survey. The first part of the chapter deals with the rationale of research designs and methods. The remaining part of the chapter focuses on the influence of the researcher, ethical issues and research constraints.

3.1 Major Themes of the Study

In Chapters One and Two, I reviewed the literature and established the major themes for this study. The established themes were important in determining the way the questions were formulated, the locality of the survey, the sampling and the size of the survey population, and the instrumentality of the research. The primary concern here was how to translate these established themes into questions and how to formulate these questions in the interviewing guide and in the questionnaires (to be elaborated shortly). The overarching question in Chapter One

> How do cultural perceptions of Chinese students and English-speaking teachers in China influence the perceptions of their performance?

and the four research questions in Chapter Two became a framework within which specific questions for the interviews and the questionnaires were designed. As the four groups of research subjects came from different backgrounds, with different age, different interests, and different role responsibilities, it was essential that the questions asked *must* match each individual group. Although some concerns might converge, the ways the questions were asked varied from group to group.

The questions for the interview (see Appendix Seven) and the questionnaires (See Appendices Three, Four, and Five) were concerned with the perceptions of the role and the performance of foreign teachers in China, with the Chinese expectations of the imported foreign expertise, with views on foreign teachers' pedagogical innovations, on teaching approaches and learning techniques, and on the advantages and disadvantages of foreign teachers' participation in the ELT in China. The questions were also concerned with suggestions on how to maximise foreign expertise. All the questions for the four groups of informants were closely related to converging themes derived from literature review and to the exploratory themes of the study. The following outlines the major themes that were covered in the questionnaires for foreign teachers, Chinese students and Chinese teachers:

1. Background information
    - years of learning experience at the university (for Chinese students)
    - the purpose of learning (for Chinese students)
    - academic qualifications
    - the length of teaching experience
    - the courses that have been taught
2. Views on the role of foreign teachers
    - attitudes towards foreign teachers' teaching
    - perceptions of foreign teachers' performance
    - views on the Chinese recruiting practices
3. Views on English language teaching and learning
    - views on foreign teachers' pedagogical innovations in contrast to traditional Chinese teaching approaches

- views on the use of textbook, Intensive Reading courses, and examinations
- views on belief systems surrounding conceptualisation of knowledge, teaching and learning, and approaches to teaching and learning

4. Views on learning techniques (for Chinese students) and on teaching methodologies (for both foreign and Chinese teachers)
    - views on different approaches to teaching and learning
    - views on transmission teaching styles and communicative/interactive teaching styles
5. Views on foreign teachers' involvement in the ELT in China (open-ended question)

Having established the framework of the research, I will turn to describe how the data-collecting instruments of this research were developed.

3.2 Rationale for Research Methodology

To investigate the differing perceptions of foreign teachers' teaching in Chinese tertiary institutions by four groups of people -- foreign teachers, Chinese students, administrators, and Chinese teachers requires a research design that can highlight the problems under the study. The nature of research design and method is determined by the objective of the research and the research problems (Burns, 1994). Just as Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991) have pointed out,

> What is important for researchers is not the choice of a priori paradigms, or methodologies, but rather to be clear about what the purpose of the study is and to match that purpose with the attributes most likely to accomplish it. Put another way, the methodological design should be determined by the research question. (p. 14)

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative research approaches are used collaboratively to develop lines of inquiry in an attempt to provide multiple sources of more accurate and convincing evidence than a single source of information (Yin, 1989) and to ensure research credibility (Davis, 1995). The two research approaches, derived from different philosophies, can be legitimately used as research tools, "providing alternative insights into human behaviour" (Burns, 1994, p. 241). The qualitative mode enables the researcher to explore the complex nature of the research questions that might be unattainable through the quantitative approach while the latter can help the researcher to supplement the qualitative approach with statistical data. Chaudron (1988) claims that "almost every ethnographic or discourse analytical study refers to the frequency, magnitude, or proportion of occurrences of analytical units observed" (p. 15). In Chaudron's view, it is highly necessary to supplement the qualitative mode with quantifications of events and occurrences. The view is supported by Watson-Gegeo (1988) who posits that qualitative research "involves quantification in the form of frequency counts, tests of significance, or multivariate analysis of patterns and themes" (pp. 584-585). In the present study, I have adopted "bimethodologicalism" in an attempt to seek "a true mark of scholarly sophistication" (Eisner & Peshkin, 1990, p. 7). In the qualitative research, the interview (individual and group interview) techniques were employed while in the quantitative research, questionnaires were used to obtain the intended information from the respondents. The purpose of using bimethodologicalism is to collect as many as possible kinds of evidence related to the research problems, and to build up a many-sided, complex picture of the subject matter. When several kinds of evidence converge on the same themes, "any particular bit of evidence can be interpreted in the context of other bits to determine its meaning" (Diesing, 1971, p. 147).

3.3 Sampling of the Research Subjects

In line with the research objective, four groups of research subjects were involved in the survey -- the Chinese students, foreign teachers, Chinese teachers and Chinese administrators. Each would contribute to the importance of the research from varying angles. In sample selection, the potential of each "case" rather than the actual number of "cases" was taken into consideration to aid the researcher in developing theoretical insights into the area under the study (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

The research was conducted from March to May in 1997 in nine tertiary institutions in a southwestern province in China. Of the nine institutions, seven are located in the capital city. The province was chosen as an area for this research because it was one of the provinces that opened earliest to the outside world, in the late 1970s. The province began to recruit foreign teachers in 1978 and the number of recruited foreign teachers has been on the increase since then.

The following tables provide a summary background information about the four groups of participants in this study:

Chinese Students' Background Information

Responding to the Questionnaires					
Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Postgrads	Total
52	81	96	62	11	302
Participating in the Interview					
Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Postgrads	Total
0	3	20	16	1	40

Foreign Teachers' Background Information

Academic Qualifications		
MA	BA	Total
12	12	24
Qualifications related to language teaching and learning (TESL/TEFL/English/Education): 10 (41.5% of the total)		
Participation in the Survey		
Responding to the Questionnaire: 12	Participating in the Interview:12	
Teaching Experience in China		
Less than 1 year	Between 1 to 2 years	Over 2 years
7	12	5

Chinese Teachers' Background Information

English Language Teaching Qualifications			
MA	BA	Total	
29	33	62	
Participation in the Survey			
Responding to the Questionnaire	Participating in the Interview		
52	10		
Professional Titles			
Professors	Asso. Professors	Lecturers	Ass. Lecturers
4	13	32	13
Teaching Experience at Tertiary Institutions			
Under 5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	Over 15 years
11	24	22	5

Chinese Administrators' Background Information

	Levels of Administrators			Total
	Provincial	College/Uni	Departmental	
Number	3	4	8	15
English Qualification holders	2	1	8	11

3.3.1 Chinese Students

The 342 randomly sampled Chinese students participating in this study (302 as respondents to the questionnaire and 40 as informants in the interviews) had been studying as English language majors in tertiary institutions in three cities of the province. They had all been exposed to foreign teachers' teaching since they entered the college and/or university. This means the longer the students stay in an institution, the more exposure they have to foreign teachers' teaching. The questionnaire was written in Mandarin and the interviews were conducted in Mandarin to avoid any possible confusion caused by linguistic misunderstandings. The questionnaire was administered and collected by Chinese teachers and students. The response rate was 100%.

Students' length of exposure to foreign teachers' teaching was believed to be associated with their understanding or accommodation of foreign expertise (T. Scovel, 1983). In Maley's (1986b) view, once the students were used to foreign teachers' teaching and had a better knowledge of the values of the introduced pedagogy, they would appreciate foreign teachers' teaching. He attributes students' resistance or lack of cooperation to students' *initial* exposure to new teaching techniques. It is implicit in Maley's view that the longer the exposure, the less the resistance, and thus the more cooperation between students and foreign teachers. It is thus important to divide students into different strata according to their lengths of exposure.

Sampling stratification is important to obtain more reliable, more precise data than simple random sampling. As Moser and Kalton (1971) note, stratification can increase the precision of the sampled population. They emphasise, however, that the precision cannot be achieved if the selection of strata is not made randomly. Moser and Kalton (1971) argue that "the stratified random sampling with a uniform sampling fraction tends to have somewhat greater precision than simple random sampling, and it is also generally convenient for practical reasons" (p. 85). As a result, they contend that the random sampling of the strata "guarantees against selection bias" (p.92). In this regard, all the student participants were carefully stratified by the lengths of their exposure to foreign teachers' teaching. In other words, students from year one to year four at colleges and universities had their proportionate representatives in the survey. The objective of stratification by the length of exposure was to decide if there is a correlation between the lengths of students' exposure to foreign teachers' teaching and students' attitudes towards foreign teachers' teaching. Having said this, I must point out that there was a constraint to involve an equal number of students in each stratum because Chinese colleges offer only three-year programs while universities run four-year programs. This is to say that there are fewer students in the year-four stratum than in other strata.

3.3.2 Foreign Teachers

Twenty-four foreign teachers participated in this survey (twelve were interviewed, and the other twelve answered the questionnaire). Only those foreign teachers who taught English language majors were invited to participate. The number of participants, compared to the 80-odd foreign teachers in the province, represents one quarter of the foreign teacher population. Their participation was voluntary. It was difficult to randomly sample this group because the population was very small. The survey strategy therefore targeted anyone who was willing to be interviewed. The questionnaire (written in English) was handed to each foreign teacher either by individuals or through the department administrators. The response rate was 100%.

Of the 24 expatriate personnel surveyed, eleven were "Foreign Experts," and thirteen were "Foreign Teachers." Academically, 54.5% reported being specialised in TESOL/TEFL, education, or in English language and literature; the others were specialised in other areas, such as chemistry, engineering, journalism, industrial relations and school management. More than half of the expatriate teachers had taught in China for more than one year, some over six years.

3.3.3 Chinese Teachers

Sixty-two Chinese teachers of English participated in the survey: fifty-two answered the questionnaire and ten were interviewed. The questionnaire was written in Mandarin and the interview was also conducted in Mandarin, to avoid misunderstandings that might be caused by linguistic misconceptions and misinterpretations. The informants were randomly selected, under the condition that they, as English language majors, had been taught by foreign teachers and were teaching the English language majors at the tertiary institutions when this survey was conducted.

The Chinese teachers' perception of foreign teachers' teaching was considered to also offer an extended view of the Chinese students from a historical perspective. These teachers came from different universities in China, and their experiences with foreign teachers therefore deserve careful study.

3.3.4 Chinese Administrators

Involved in the study were fifteen Chinese administrators at departmental, university, and provincial levels. Those at the departmental level were also teachers themselves and they had long been exposed to foreign teachers' teaching. More than half of these administrators had been trained in the West. These participants were themselves policy- and decision-makers with regard to the employment of foreign teachers. They were responsible for the issues such as recruitment and assessment of the employed foreign teachers. Interviews were the only data-collecting process. Their perceptions of the values of foreign teachers' teaching presumably could help unlock the motivations for the employment.

3.4 The Pilot Study

In November, 1996, six months before the final survey, a pilot study was conducted in Melbourne and in a city in China where the final survey was to be done. Involved in the pilot study were ten foreign teachers who had taught English in China, three Chinese administrators who had at some time been ever in charge of foreign teachers' teaching, and ten Chinese teachers who, as English language majors, had been taught by foreign teachers, and fifteen Chinese students. The pilot study sampling was selected exactly in the same way as was intended in the final survey, and the research instruments contained all the intended questions presented in the wording, format, and sequence and administered in the same way as was intended for the final survey. The pilot studies served as "miniaturised walkthroughs of the entire study design" (Babbie, 1973, p. 205).

The purpose of this pilot study was to see if the proposed procedures and the question items were viable, to help the researcher to refine the data collection plans with regard to both the content of the data and the procedures to be followed (Yin, 1989) in the main study, and to obtain some information on the comprehensibility of the questions and on elicitation of the desired data (Wolf, 1988). Serving as "the dress rehearsal" (Moser & Kalton, 1971, p. 48), the pilot study was expected to help determine the adequacy of the sampling frame, the variability within the population to be surveyed, the appropriateness of the questions, the suitability of the research procedures, the efficiency of the instructions, the layout of the questionnaire, the clarity of definition, and the experience in communication skills. The pilot study enables the researcher to uncover the possible errors before putting the survey into actual practice, to explore what might not be known and yet very important, and to provide the researcher with multiple implications of the problems and their possible solutions (Babbie, 1973). The pilot study, therefore, is "the researcher's last safeguard against the possibility that the main survey may be ineffective" (Moser & Kalton, 1971, p. 51).

After the small tryout work, the questionnaires and the interview questions were revised. Some initial questions were modified or eliminated, and additional questions added on the basis of the new emerging and converging themes yielded from the tryout. Examination of the response data provided a basis for restructuring previously formulated question items. In order to guarantee the validity and reliability of the interview questions and questionnaires, especially content validity (Burns, 1994), I consulted one specialist in quantitative research who carefully examined the items to ensure they were adequate for measuring what was expected to be measured.

3.5 Interviews

The semi-structured interview is one of the data-collecting instruments in this study. Two interview formats were adopted: the individual interview and the group interview, each having its features to suit different groups of people and contexts. As interviews involve the researcher's direct contacts with the informants, it is important for the researcher to be fully aware of the impact of the researcher's subjective world so as to intentionally avoid researcher biases (Bodgan & Biklen, 1982; Bell, 1987; Diesing, 1971).

3.5.1 The Semi-Structured Interview

The interview, according to Yin (1989), is the primary source of case study information, with direct bearings on the research problems and objectives (Cohen & Manion, 1980). It enables the researcher to have access to a person's values, perceptions, beliefs and attitudes (Tuckman, 1972). The success of the interview, nevertheless, is determined by the formulation of the research objectives, to be translated into specific interview questions and variables to be measured (Cohen & Manion, 1980).

In each interview, the researcher briefed the respondent(s) as to the nature of the interview and tried to make the respondent feel at ease. With the assent of the respondents, all the responses were audiotaped. In the whole process of the interview, I carefully followed Tuckman's (1972) suggestion not to let my own biases, opinions and emotions affect my behaviour. Considerable attention was paid to the establishment of rapport, empathy, and understanding between the interviewer and the interviewee (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989). Unthreatening, supportive, polite and cordial interaction and interpersonal skills are the key to a successful survey (Lofland, 1971).

Burns (1994) recommends that "if comparable data are to be obtained, it is important that the same questions be asked in the same order and with the same wording for all respondents" (p. 361). However, in the interviewing process, flexibility is essential as situations vary greatly. In this study, an interview guide (see Appendix Seven) was used to make sure the key themes were covered and explored. The interview guide was not a structured schedule or protocol, but a list of major themes to cover with each respondent and the researcher had flexibility to phrase questions to suit the interview situations (Taylor & Bodgan, 1984, p. 92). It was a guide to remind the researcher of the range of themes to be covered.

Hitchcock and Hughes (1989) divide interviews into three categories: unstructured, semi-structured, and structured interviews. The selection of the interview category is determined by the research objectives (Bell, 1987; Burns, 1994). The objectives of the present study were to obtain the data concerning attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of the four groups of people. The semi-structured interview, designed without fixed wording and ordering of questions, may provide a much more flexible version of the structured interview (Burns, 1994). Burns notes that the semi-structured interview "permits greater flexibility than the close-ended type and permits a more valid response from the informant's perception of reality" (Burns, 1994, p. 279). It helps the researcher to achieve a greater depth of study by probing into the issues being discussed and negotiated (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989).

The semi-structured interview is of an open-ended nature in which the researcher can ask the respondents' views, opinions, suggestions, and get insights into certain issues (Yin, 1989). The respondent is given freedom to talk about what is of central significance to him/her, and to move freely from one topic to another, within the guided framework (Bell, 1987). The established framework (the interview guide) -- a set of questions derived from the research protocol (Yin, 1989) -- is helpful to simplify the data analysis.

Cohen and Manion (1980) use the term *focused interview* rather than semi-structured interview. In the focused interview, in their view, the interviewer identifies the major areas of inquiry for the research, and the actual interview is, therefore focused on these areas of the inquiry. In the quest for the significant data, it is important for the interviewer to explore the clues and implications from informants' response. To this end, the interview guide was used to help the researcher to focus on major themes and their implications.

3.5.2 Interviewing Formats

The nature of the research objectives determines the interviewing techniques. In this study, all the interview questions are *open-ended* questions. Cohen and Manion (1980) comment on the advantages of open-ended questions:

> they are flexible; they allow the interview to probe so that he [sic] may go into more depth if he [sic] chooses, or clear up any misunderstandings; they enable the interviewer to test the limits of the respondent's knowledge; they encourage co-operation and help establish rapport; and they allow the interviewer to make a truer assessment of what the respondent really believes. Open-ended situations can also

> result in unexpected or unanticipated answers which may suggest hitherto unthought-of relationships or hypotheses. (p. 297)

In addition, two interview modes were adopted in this study: individual interviews and group interviews. They suit different situations. The advantages and appropriateness of each mode will be the focus of the following discussion.

3.5.2.1 *Individual Interview*

In Burns' (1989) view, the individual interview provides a framework within which the researcher can focus on the respondent's views and opinions about the themes being investigated. Burns suggests that the individual interview also provides an opportunity for the researcher to probe in depth into some challenging responses so as to have a better understanding of the research problems. Such an in-depth interview, according to Taylor and Bogdan (1984), helps to capture the salient subjective individual experiences, beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions.

The individual interview provides a sense of more flexibility in terms of time constraints than the group interview. The respondent's views remain uncontaminated by the influence or dominance of other individuals, though biases are unavoidable (to be discussed shortly). This interviewing technique was considered to be appropriate for interviewing foreign teachers, Chinese administrators, and Chinese teachers. On some occasions, the group interview technique was used when the respondents themselves were inclined to be interviewed in groups. The selection of the interviewing techniques was determined by the interviewing situations and the respondents' preferences.

3.5.2.2 *Group Interview*

The group interview has many advantages. In the group discussion, the participants can exchange their ideas, argue for or against someone else's views, add or explain the ideas that one of the participants may not have clearly presented. Robson (1989) contends:

> Groups take on a life of their own and the group has an influence back on the individual. Thus the gestalt of the group is more than the sum of its individual parts. What is said in the group relates to people's experience in the group. It is for these reasons that group discussions are such an excellent means of revealing people's ways of thinking. They are an opportunity to observe the exchange of ideas in a dynamic way and to construct hypothetical models of the way people think. (p. 25)

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) argue that the group interview allows the researcher to go into the world of the subjects, to get insight into the congruent or conflicting perceptions of the participants.

In the group interview, interviewing skills are very important. In the interviewing process, Robson (1989) suggests that the researcher maintain a role of an audience "to listen, observe, question freely and, in the light of what is said, *interpret* the individual's behaviour within the ... context" (p. 26). The researcher, as a seemingly passive listener, always remained alert to capture every insight derived from the discussions. Acting as the group discussion organiser, I tried to maintain a neutral role by "encouraging group interaction but not participating any more than necessary -- the fly on the wall model" (Robson, 1989, p. 27). Robson points out that as the prime concern of the group interview was the group reaction, the organiser should play a passive role to encourage the participants to express their views as fully as possible.

The group interview became a main data-collecting instrument, especially with the Chinese student population. Many Chinese students tend to be shy and introverted (Brennan & Miao, 1982; Liu, 1986; Mahoney, 1990; Orton, 1990; Muehl & Muehl, 1992; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996b; Wan, 1997). The group interview could provide them with a kind of security with their peers around. In this sense, more relevant and useful data could be elicited from group than individual interviews. In the group interview, one's remarks stimulated and sparked off responses from others, whether they supported, extended or refuted the arguments by the peers. The discussions took place among the students themselves, and so fears of expressing their views were minimised, even though they were aware that their discussions were recorded.

Moreover, as most of the Chinese students are taught to take extra care in their speech -- *sansi er houxing* (think three times before you act) (Hong, 1993), the group interview was assumed to provide much more space for each participant to reflect on what they were going to contribute to the discussion. The technique was extremely effective in eliciting the desired data.

3.6 *Questionnaires*

The discussion in the previous chapter indicates that both teaching and learning are affected by the teachers' and the students' cultural values, beliefs, perceptions and expectations. It is assumed that the perceptions held by teachers and students can affect teaching and learning outcomes. This study is concerned with teacher-student perceptual differences with regard to language teaching and learning. It requires a technique of attitude test construction to measure the differences. In Burroughs' (1975) view, the summated rating, i.e. the Likert five-point scale, in a questionnaire is an appropriate instrument for attitude testing. In terms of the reliability and validity of the research technique through questionnaires, Burroughs claims, the technique is as valid and reliable as any other more sophisticated research techniques.

Three questionnaires were designed to test the perceptual differences of foreign teachers, Chinese students and Chinese teachers of English. All the statements were thematically arranged, indicative of attitudes towards the chosen topic. Each statement is followed by a five-point scale marked *Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree*. It is assumed that a highly positive or negative attitude is associated with the scale of *Strongly Agree* or *Strongly Disagree*.

The structures of the three questionnaires -- for Chinese students, teachers and foreign teachers -- vary in question formats and the questions were designed to suit different respondents. The major themes in the questionnaires (to be discussed shortly) were derived from the review of relevant literature; some themes were designed by the researcher to explore the problematic areas that were not dealt with or not mentioned by previous researchers and scholars. In developing the questionnaires, particular attention was paid to all rules of clarity, simplicity, specificity (Burroughs, 1975), coherent organisation of themes, desirable attributes of the questionnaire, time constraints, and the sensitivity or delicacy of the content of question items (Yin, 1989).

Each questionnaire contained an open-ended question at the end, allowing the respondents to have freedom to express their views, experiences, assumptions, and suggestions. This response mode serves as an important and integral part of the questionnaire, and as a useful instrument to analyse the information that might not be easily available through the closed questions. A large number of respondents completed the open-ended question with long and perceptive answers. Some foreign teachers wrote essays to provide detailed explanations.

The Questionnaire for the Chinese Students (SQ) (see Appendix Four) contains four parts: background information, views on teaching and learning, views on learning techniques, and views on the role of foreign teachers' participation in English teaching in China (open-ended). The Questionnaires for Chinese teachers (CTQ) (see Appendix Five) and foreign teachers (FTQ) (see Appendix Three) contain five parts: background information, views on the role of foreign teachers, views on English teaching and learning, use of teaching techniques, and views on the role of foreign teachers' participation in English teaching in China (open-ended). There are common themes in the three sets of questionnaires but there are variations, too, because some questions may suit one group of respondents, but not the other groups. For example: The questions "What is the purpose of your teaching English in China?" [FTQ, Part 1, Question 5], and "I regret having ever taught in China" [FTQ, Part 2, Question 20]) are appropriate for foreign teachers but are not suitable for Chinese teachers and students. Similarly, some questions in the Questionnaires for the Chinese Students are not suitable for either Chinese or foreign teachers, e.g. "I prefer Chinese teachers' lessons to foreign teachers' lessons" (SQ, Part 2, Question 1), "I cannot learn much in foreign teachers' classes" (SQ, Part 2, Question 7). Each questionnaire consists of a large number of questions (94, 128, and 124 in the questionnaires for Chinese students, teachers, and foreign teachers respectively).

3.7 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues are almost inevitable in survey research and "there is no way in which the researcher can ensure against all these possibilities" (Babbie, 1973, p. 350). It is particularly true of surveys associated with perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes held by the respondents. Babbie provides some guidelines to alert the researcher's sensitivity to the issues. The core of the guidelines is to accept the norm of doing no harm to the respondents. In this study, "The Declaration of Informed Consent" (see Appendix Two) was sent to each respondent and it was signed before the start of the interview. The consent form detailed the research activities planned and the way in which the data would be reported. In Davis' (1995) view, the signed consent form offers psychological protection to the participants by putting their safety at the forefront in the study. It also serves as a contractual bond in which anonymity and confidentiality are ensured.

However, a dilemma appears to be unresolvable. On the one hand, it is important for the surveyor to reveal the purpose of the survey, implicitly or explicitly, because the respondents often insisted on knowing the content of the interview. Davis (1995) emphasises that in qualitative research, "a clear description of the project and data collection techniques should be presented and then negotiated with research participants" (p. 443). On the other hand, the disclosure of the interview purpose would affect scientific quality and validity of the collected data and the conclusions to be drawn from the data; yet, deceiving the respondent as to the study's purpose would raise an ethical issue (Babbie, 1973). In addition, it is impossible to hide the purpose from the respondent in that the questions themselves are self-evident. In my survey, some of my informants insisted on the provision of questions to be asked so that they could carefully prepare for the interview. Some administrators and Chinese teachers, for example, prepared their speech in carefully written outlines, supported by the figures and official documents. I found that informing the informants of the purpose of the interview could help obtain well-prepared and well-informed data.

In spite of the signed consent form and the careful evaluation by the Human Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social Sciences, La Trobe University (see Appendix One), there is no guarantee of the psychological and social safety of the participants. Besides, although the informants were assured that all the data would remain confidential and anonymous, the case studies, in Walker's (1993) words, might "create images of reality that become part of the reality itself" (p. 173). Certain episodes reported by the informants might be well known to the people in the area. For example, many people in the area might immediately recognise the people involved in the episodes, even though their names were not mentioned, such as who was expelled or dismissed from the university;

who was a heavy smoker in the classroom; who married a Chinese; who was teaching English literature; who came from which country. In this case, in spite of cautions to hide the clues by the researcher, the events and the people involved in the events were identifiable. This ethical issue seems inevitable because case studies explore problems, attitudes, paradoxes, conflicts (Walker, 1993). What is most important is to maintain a constant vigilance in efforts not to do harm (Davis, 1995; Agar, 1980).

3.8 Research Constraints

This study was conducted in a south-western province in 1997. It may be risky to say that the research results are representative of tertiary institutions in the whole country. Similarly, the sampled foreign teachers coming from different social backgrounds and countries may not represent the typification of all Western academics and the teaching approaches they use in classrooms may not represent the repertoire of Western teaching approaches. Even for one teacher, Chinese or non-Chinese, the teaching approaches vary from time to time and from class to class. Besides, China is changing rapidly, socially, economically, and politically (Li & Walker, 1997; Huang, 1998). Capturing a precise picture of a social perspective is almost impossible. To some researchers, China is unpredictable (Garrott, 1995).

The research difficulty is complicated by the Chinese cultural traditions. Rosen (1987) argues,

> There is little basis in Chinese traditional political culture to suggest that citizens will reveal their true feelings on a questionnaire, even one in which respondents may omit their names. (p. 192)

This research is highly sensitive. Eliciting reliable data from the Chinese students in particular can be extremely difficult because they are culturally prescribed not to challenge the teacher's authority and power (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Hong, 1993). If forced to express their views about the teaching quality, they tend to use positive descriptions even though they may not think so. Foreign teachers hold such a high and powerful status that it is even more difficult for the researcher to draw out the Chinese students' views about foreign teachers' teaching. The Chinese administrators, as decision-makers themselves, rarely speak of the negative side of foreign teachers' teaching. They are in a dilemma. They have to report to their superiors the positive rather than negative values of the recruitment. They are held responsible for the recruitment result, for better or for worse. If the foreign teacher's performance were not up to the expectations, they would be held responsible because they have employed the teacher. It might be perceived as their poor judgement or poor management that has caused the foreign teacher's poor performance. For example, when I talked privately to some Chinese administrators, they complained bitterly about the poor performance of foreign teachers, but when I told them that I would audiotape the talk, they changed their tunes immediately. Foreign teachers' teaching, for its sensitive and delicate nature, is rarely discussed in official reports and students' perceptions of foreign teachers' teaching are rarely investigated.

In addition, a large majority of variables in questionnaires used for this research were formulated in Likert-type scales, it is difficult to establish a neutral point on the continuum from strongly agree to strongly disagree as the answer to the "not sure" does not necessarily mean it is the middle point between the two extremes (Karavas-Doukas, 1996; Oppenheim, 1992). The "not sure" answer may indicate that the respondent may hold a neutral, or negative, or favourable attitude to the question. A few respondents, before completing the questionnaires, demanded face-to-face explanations to the questions that they thought they were not sure about. When they obtained clear explanations, they changed their answers to either positive or negative. But the large scale of the distribution of the questionnaires made such direct clarifications impossible.

Moreover, as the interviews involve interpersonal involvement, some degree of the researcher effect or researcher bias (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989; Bodgan & Biklen, 1982; Bell, 1987) derived from communication interactions seemed inevitable in spite of my extreme caution plus constant control to try to minimise such negative outcomes by carefully formulating the questions and maintaining a detached attitude in the complex interpersonal transaction. It seems unlikely to eliminate the researcher effect completely.

The researcher is fully aware of these constraints. Extracting the recurring themes from the implications of the data can be a difficult yet rewarding task.

3.9 Analysing the Data

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the research questions and objectives of the present study required a bimethodological mode of the survey by combining both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. The data analyses, representing a synthesis of these two approaches, are based on the qualitative interpretations of the interviews and the quantitative data that were used to supplement these interpretations. The following procedures were undertaken:

- Transcribing a large proportion of all the tape recordings of interviews (either in Mandarin or in English);
- Having the transcriptions carefully examined by the native speakers of respective languages (see Appendix Eight);
- Reading and rereading these transcription of the interviews;
- Coding and decoding the questionnaires for the three groups of people: foreign teachers, Chinese students and Chinese teachers of English;
- Analysing the themes, identifying the converging themes and group responses from the two survey instruments;
- Applying these common themes and group response to factual reporting (please see Chapter Four).

All the data collected from the two research approaches have been analysed and used to interpret and explain the perceptions of the four groups of people by taking socio-cultural factors into account. Analysing the collected data requires the researcher's familiarity with the interview transcripts and database technology. Reading and rereading of the available data had provided the researcher with a clear and coherent picture of the whole research. All the data from the questionnaires were keyed in and analysed through the SPSS software. The process of familiarisation with the data becomes an fundamental prerequisite to the successful analysis of the material (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989).

As the analysis and interpretations were grounded in the obtained data, the researcher was required to read and reread the data in order to identify the emerging themes and the general units of meaning for further evidence and clarification. Hitchcock and Hughes (1989) argue that it is important for the researcher to identify, extract, analyse, and comment on these recurrent themes related to the overall focus of the research in particular. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) describe the stage of familiarisation with the data and the extraction of the major themes as the "discovery stage", and the stage of explaining, analysing, interpreting and theorising the data as the "coding stage." Chapter Four will report the findings of this research.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL PERCEPTIONS AND TEACHING IN AN INTERCULTURAL SETTING

The perceptions of foreign teachers' contribution to English teaching in China vary widely from person to person and from university to university. It will be argued that both foreign teachers and the host institutions have varying motivations and these motivations lead to expectations of different outcomes. The employment of unqualified[1] and incompetent foreign teachers is believed to have done more disservice than service to English language teaching in China. This chapter will first report the positive response from Chinese students, teachers, and administrators. Then I will examine problematic issues facing foreign teachers by investigating the processes of selection and employment, disparities in role and pedagogical expectations and teacher-student conflicts, with the twenty-four foreign teachers, sixty-two Chinese teachers, fifteen Chinese administrators, and 342 Chinese students who have provided the data for this study. This chapter, shaped by the research findings through a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative interpretation of the data, is the result of the converging themes collected from coding and decoding the questionnaires, transcribing, reading and re-reading the interviews, identifying, grouping and analysing the themes from all responses.

---

[1] I use the word *qualified* or *unqualified* as a modifier to mean those who have or have not received qualifying papers to engage in activities that require relevant qualifications. In Chinese linguistic pragmatics, *hege* (qualified) and *buhege* (unqualified) may mean not only one's paper qualifications, but also one's competence.

4.1 Positive Perceptions of Foreign Teachers' Teaching

The strong desire of the Chinese for Western science and technology has made possible the involvement of foreign teachers in ELT programs in China. It is commonly agreed that foreign teachers have played an important role in updating English teaching in China, in introducing new teaching methods, and in creating a positive and authentic language learning environment that can help promote students' learning motivations and learning outcomes. In this section, the foreign teachers' positive roles will be reviewed.

4.1.1 The Rationale for the Employment

China needs Western science and technology in its modernisation programs. AI13 (L115-116)[2] argued that direct borrowing of foreign science and technology was beneficial to Chinese education and Chinese modernisation programs. To achieve this goal, he said, there were two options: sending students to the West to acquire Western know-how and employing foreign experts to participate in teaching in China. The latter was more economical than the former from a monetary point of view. He indicated that employing foreign experts/teachers has become a sign of Chinese openness to the outside world.

English is considered as an important tool to access Western science and technology on which Western economic and military power is assumed to depend. AI3 (L17-19), a university administrator, contended that

> In today's high technology rivalry, whoever goes ahead of others, commands time.
> and

---

[2] Symbols used in this chapter:
AI = Administrator Interviewed
CTI = Chinese Teacher Interviewed
CTQ = Chinese Teacher Questionnaire
FTI = Foreign Teacher Interviewed
FTQ = Foreign Teacher Questionnaire
L = Line(s)
N = Number
P = Part
Q = Question
S = Section
SI = Student Interviewed
SQ = Student Questionnaire

> whoever commands the advanced science and technology, commands tomorrow.[3]

She warned that, from a biological point of view, incestuous reproduction could be disastrous to a nation's vitality. What she meant is that China needs to introduce new ideas and things from foreign countries so as to quicken its pace of social transformation. To her, it was worth money and effort to employ good, highly qualified foreign teachers.

Responses from the questionnaire for the Chinese teachers, to which fifty-two Chinese teachers of English responded, have shown that most Chinese teachers agreed that foreign teachers' participation in English teaching was very important in upgrading English teaching standards in China (N=41, 78.8%,[4] CTQ:P2:S1:Q1), that foreign teachers had played a role that could not be fulfilled by Chinese teachers (N=31, 59.6%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q3), and that their presence could benefit Chinese students (N=35, 67.3%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q11).

Of the 302 respondents to the questionnaire, a large majority of students (86.5%, N=261, SQ:P2:S1:Q2) acknowledged that they could improve their listening in foreign teachers' classes. They expressed their strong desire to learn English with native speakers (65.5%, N=198, SQ:P2:S1:Q28). The importance of foreign teachers' participation is recognised and the students found that, for whatever reasons, they could learn something from foreign teachers (63.6%, N=192, SQ:P2:S1:Q7). More than half of the respondents believed that there was something positive in foreign teachers' teaching that Chinese teachers could benefit from (50.9%, N=154, SQ:P2:S1:Q30).

Speaking of the importance of foreign teachers' participation in the province, A16 (L6-7) believed that

> Foreign teachers' role in foreign language teaching in China should not be underestimated. The fact that foreign language teaching in China has reached such a height is closely related to the employment of foreign teachers at the initial stage.

It seems that foreign teachers represent Western culture, science and technology which can be transferred to China through foreign teachers' classroom teaching. Such a prescribed role places foreign teachers in a very important position. AI1 (L32-36), an English major herself, claimed,

---

[3] Unless otherwise noted, all the quotes by the Chinese administrators, Chinese teachers of English, Chinese students are translated from Chinese into English by the researcher. All quotes by foreign teachers are in the original.

> The role of foreign teachers is irreplaceable. Students in either polytechnic universities or comprehensive universities seem very pleased to have foreign teachers. They represent special foreign things. They represent Western advanced culture, thoughts, and teaching methods.... They introduce to China the latest advances in science and technology. They help open our vistas and lead Chinese students to new heights parallel not only to the advanced level in China, but to the advanced level in foreign countries. I think their role is irreplaceable.

CTI8 (L3-6) expressed a similar view, "they are native speakers. There is no substitute for native speakers", and "the role they play cannot be replaced by non-native speakers" [original in English]. As native speakers, foreign teachers are in a better position than Chinese teachers to understand the subtleties of their own language and idiomatic expressions containing cultural connotations (CTQ33:P5:L2-3). This applies especially in oral English, in writing and in English literature, where foreign teachers' greatest role could be fully explored, provided they were professionals rather than ordinary non-trained, native speakers (CTI8, L23-31).

To the Chinese English language majors, the employment of foreign teachers, CTI4 (L171-172) claimed, was a gain rather than a loss. CTI6 (L184-187) agreed that the benefits of employment outweighed the disadvantages. As foreign teachers could model differences in thought patterns and linguistic expressions, it was necessary to involve foreign teachers in the teaching (CTQ47:P5:L4-5) so as to develop students' linguistic and cultural awareness. CTQ24(P5:L1-4) emphasised that in English language teaching,

> Foreign teachers play a role in providing students with natural and realistic linguistic input. By utilising their language and pedagogical expertise, they could help Chinese students learn English well, precisely speaking, to learn idiomatic English well. Therefore, in the employment of foreign teachers, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages.

---

[4] N=41, 78.8% means that 41 respondents (78.8% of the total sampled population) have chosen "Strongly Agree" and "Agree" in the questionnaire.

Foreign teachers themselves held an even more positive view about their contribution to the English programs in the province. The data from the twelve returned questionnaires by foreign teachers show that of the twelve respondents, eleven (91.7%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q1&3) agreed that foreign teachers have played an important role in upgrading the English teaching standards in China, a role that Chinese teachers can not fulfil. They (91.7%, FTQ:P2:Q7) considered their contributions to be a crucial part of English education in the country. Seventy-five percent of them described their teaching outcomes as successful or extremely successful (FTQ:P2:S2:Q6). Most of them (83.3%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q11) believed that Chinese students benefited from their teaching. It is the view of many foreign teachers (58.3%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q22) that they had successfully fulfilled their major role in providing an English learning environment for students.

4.1.2 Significance of the Employment of Foreign Teachers

Foreign teachers' participation is perceived to be important in that foreign teachers have helped trained Chinese teachers by introducing new EFL teaching methods, and have contributed much to upgrading English teaching in China. Foreign teachers' teaching has helped create a dynamic learning environment, promote students' learning interest, and improve their language proficiency.

4.1.2.1 Introducing New Teaching Methods

When China re-opened itself to the West in the 1970s after an isolation of more than two decades, it was discovered that China was short of qualified English language teachers at secondary and tertiary levels. Teacher training became an urgent issue. A16 (L1-7) explained that the severe shortage of English teachers seriously hampered the progress of China's opening to the outside world and the process of its modernisation programs. In his view, the Chinese teachers of English, very few in number, and not highly qualified or competent in teaching the language, were unable to offer the many new courses that were required by the social change. As a result, he said, it was extremely important to use foreign expertise to train Chinese teachers, and to offer new courses. Such a government move was believed to be helpful to the Chinese teachers who had been using pre-1949[5] teaching methods, such as the grammar-translation approach (AI11, L6-11). AI11 claimed that the employment of foreign teachers to teach in China was the result of China's open-door policies and Chinese teachers and students had benefited from the presence of foreign teachers, especially in listening, speaking and writing.

AI8 (L19-21) argued that foreign teachers had played a role in upgrading the teaching standards of Chinese teachers by having solved the "deaf-mute" problems encountered in the past by Chinese teachers and learners whose listening and speaking abilities had been extremely poor. He (L60-64) pointed out that this might not have been possible without the involvement of foreign teachers who, besides teaching, had introduced new teaching methods, new textbooks, and new approaches to research, which liberated Chinese teachers from the shackles of their traditional teaching approaches. CTI1 (L7-14) argued that foreign teachers brought in "different possible approaches to language teaching" [original in English] such as the communicative approach which was influential in challenging the conception of Chinese teachers' traditional teaching methods. The introduction of new teaching methods, according to CTI1 (L97-101), helped Chinese teachers -- when they came to understand and accept these methods -- to independently solve their own problems by using the imported methods. He contended that the importance of the employment did not lie in the many hours of lessons foreign teachers taught each week, but in leaving a "heritage" [original in English] behind, by which he meant effective teaching methods used by foreign teachers. In addition, CTI7 (L62-64) explained, the presence of foreign teachers would make students and teachers realise that "there are other skies beside the one we see, and there are other mountains beyond the one before us," suggesting that apart from the methods they were using, Chinese teachers and students were provided with many other alternatives (CTI9, 25-31).

Some students also discovered that there were good elements in the teaching techniques used by foreign teachers that were worth learning (SQ90; SQ100; SQ101;

---

[5] On the 1st of October, 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded.

SQ185). In the observation of SQ4 (P4:L5-7), some teaching techniques employed by foreign teachers could be used by Chinese teachers to promote students' learning interest and motivations.

FTQ4 (L12-19) wrote that qualified foreign teachers -- well-trained in Western methodology: the Socratic teaching method, the inductive classroom method, small group work, project assignment and assessment -- could serve as role models for both Chinese students and teachers. The introduction of varied teaching methods by foreign teachers, according to FTQ7 (P5:L7-9), "has given Chinese English teachers an opportunity to exchange ideas and to broaden their experience." In her opinion, Chinese teachers, having been exposed to Western teaching methods, were moving towards using a more varied approach in teaching rather than clinging to one single teaching approach.

FTQ10 (P5:L1-10) maintained that in playing their important part in the teaching of English in China, foreign teachers "not only bring the expertise of English teaching but also new views and ideas about teaching in general." He felt that foreign teachers were a valuable asset to the host institution in that they gave students a first-hand knowledge about the target country, helped to promote students' motivations to learn the language with a teacher whose mother tongue was English, and to broaden students' cultural horizons through such direct personal interactions. To FTQ11(P5:L10-12), such an asset lay in the upgrading of students' communicative competence through interactive teaching methods.

4.1.2.2 Creating an English Learning Environment

It is a consensus among Chinese teachers, students, and administrators that the presence of foreign teachers can help create an authentic language learning environment which may be difficult or impossible for Chinese teachers to create (CTQ32:P5; CTQ35:P5), even if they have been trained in English-speaking countries for some time. Such a consensus underpins part of the host institution's motivation to employ foreign teachers.

FTQ7 (P5:L1-9) pointed out that foreign teachers had played an important role in updating English teaching in China by providing Chinese English speakers with an opportunity to interact with native speakers who would find it almost impossible to improve their English by speaking with the people sharing Chinese as a mother tongue. She (L16-20) argued that foreign teachers "give Chinese students and teachers an opportunity to speak English with a native speaker so that the Chinese person can gradually overcome their fear and inability to speak fluently with native speakers." Her view was supported by FTQ6 (P5:L1-13) who wrote:

> I think the cultural baggage a foreign teacher brings with him/her, both good and bad, inside the classroom and out of it, is equally important and 'educational' as the nitty-gritty of formal teaching time.

It is believed that the foreign teachers' participation in English teaching enabled Chinese English language majors to intuitively understand foreigners, including their appearance, pronunciation, behaviour, and customs, and to have a direct sense of foreign cultures, educational systems, customs, and their etiquette (SQ4, P4:L1-7; SQ195, P4:L1-4), to familiarise themselves with the different mindsets of foreigners (SQ186, P4:L2-6), and to better understand the cultures of English-speaking countries.

FTQ4 (P5:1-3) commented that foreign teachers "play an indispensable role as living-speaking-gesturing models." In addition to providing students with new modes of learning, FTQ1 (P5:L3-6) insisted, foreign teachers were able to provide a good language learning environment. To FTQ9 (P5:L16-18), foreign teachers had played a role in promoting students' "cultural understanding and higher levels of performance in pronunciation, aural and oral English as well as writing." FTQ3 (P5:L1-4) held that the presence of foreign teachers was "valuable in opening doors for understanding English in cultural terms," and could help promote students' motivation to learn the language.

Foreign teachers' involvement is critically important for students majoring in the English language (SQ285; SQ271). Foreign teachers themselves could provide a live and authentic communicative model for the students (CTQ41; CTQ48; CTI1; SQ281) by "creating a *realia* of foreign language learning," and "promoting oral English climate" (CTQ10:P5:L2-4, [original in English]), and by providing an "authentic context" [original in English] (CTQ34:P5:L2), in which the students could increase their linguistic and cultural awareness, and promote their learning (CTQ39:P5:L4-6). As CTI1 (L58-59, 64-73) noted, foreign teachers brought into the classroom a new culture of learning, in contrast to the cultural knowledge that students gleaned from their textbooks, a culture that could help students learn the language from new perspectives. CTI1 (L201-202) argued that having learned English for many years, students were highly motivated to practise what they had learned with English-speaking people in an environment provided by foreign teachers. Foreign teachers' speech and behaviours could consciously or unconsciously create a foreign language learning atmosphere for students to be naturally immersed in (SQ244). The presence of foreign teachers, therefore, was essential in motivating students' learning interest (CTI1, CTI2, CTI3), and meeting their curiosity (SQ281), in exposing Chinese learners to much more real communication situations (CTQ47), in developing students' linguistic awareness (CTQ35), and cultural awareness (CTQ39; CTQ33; SQ44), communicative competence (CTQ45; SQ187; SQ47), in broadening their visions (CTQ35) and in nurturing their personal and intellectual growth (SQ189; SQ246; CTQ33; SQ182).

In his observation, CTI1(L205-206) maintained, if students were given a choice between a university with foreign teachers and one without foreign teachers, "I am sure they will choose the one with foreign teachers as long as they choose to study English, and they are sure to make such a choice." His claim found support in some students' views. SQ253(P4:L1-3) wrote,

> As a student in the foreign language department, I find it fortunate to have opportunities to interact with foreign teachers. I try to interact with them as often as possible.

SQ261 (P4:L1-2) viewed the presence of foreign teachers as an indispensable part of the institution and it seemed to the respondent that as a foreign language department in a tertiary institution, it would be unimaginable if it did not have foreign teachers.

The data from the survey show that Chinese administrators, Chinese teachers of English, Chinese university English majors, and foreign teachers themselves regard the role of foreign teachers as very important. The involvement of foreign teachers in English teaching is believed to be able to create a positive and authentic learning atmosphere and to enhance students' learning.

In summary, this section examined the positive responses to foreign teachers' teaching in China. It was pointed out that Chinese students have benefited from teaching by foreign teachers, bearers of Western expertise, whose participation has become an important part of ELT in China. It was believed that the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages in foreign teachers' role in helping China to upgrade its ELT programs to match Western educational standards by introducing new teaching methodologies, by offering new subject courses, and by creating an authentic language learning environment in the Chinese classroom. Foreign teachers' participation provides Chinese teachers and students with broad perspectives, a wide vision, and new cultural understanding, new teaching alternatives in a context where traditional values are still heavily emphasised, and at the same time, motivates students' interest in learning, and exposes them to intellectual and cultural challenges, and to linguistic and cultural awareness which is critically important for the students who rarely have opportunities to interact with English-speaking natives.

It is important to point out here that the significance of foreign teachers' participation in English teaching in the province is tinged with idealised role expectations and assumptions, based on the "native speaker fallacy." Failure to fulfil these expectations and assumptions may lead to serious tensions between foreign teachers and Chinese students. AI2 (L10-14), an administrator at provincial level, expressed his doubt about the effectiveness of foreign teachers in the province. He indicated that there were enormous gaps between what had been achieved and what had been expected. AI7 (L7) claimed, "Have we achieved our aim? I should say no. I can only say we have learned something," learning to understand the disparities in cultural expectations. His claim indicates that he was not happy with the current outcomes of foreign teachers' teaching. AI7's remark implied that there is a vast discrepancy between the administrators' expectations and foreign teachers' actual performance in China. These conflicting expectations will be examined in the last two sections of this chapter.

4.2 Issues of Selection and Employment

Implicit in the previous discussion about the positive roles foreign teachers can play is the motivation for host institutions to recruit foreign teachers to create an authentic language learning environment. It may be naive to conclude that this is the sole motivation for Chinese host colleges and universities. This section attempts to examine issues of selection and employment by looking into the problematic dimensions in (a) the gaps between the government regulations regarding the employment of foreign teachers and their actual implementation, (b) the budget allocation and employment, (c) the process of induction, and (d) the inflow of unqualified foreign teachers.

4.2.1 Gaps Between the Government Regulations and Their Implementation

The Ministry of Education has formulated regulations regarding the employment of foreign teachers/experts. The regulations, in the process of implementation, may be seriously violated in the pursuit of sectional interests. There is a wide gap between the government policies and the implementation procedures. AI6 (L41-44), in charge of foreign teacher employment in the province, said that according to government regulations, those to be employed as foreign teachers or experts must have taught in the same academic field from five to eight years and have at least an MA degree in the area. These regulations emphasise both qualifications and professional experience. When implemented, however, AI6 complained, they are often deliberately misinterpreted, violated or totally ignored. AI6 felt despondent because each institution considered its own interest and the benefits from the employment. He maintained that

> There should have been be an assessment system, but it does not exist now. In fact, the host institutions know very well what kind of foreign teachers they need most and they understand very well the candidates' backgrounds. Unfortunately, some tourists

> are employed. The host institutions rarely consider if they are the right people to be employed or if they possess the required teaching competence. Most host institutions, however, compel the government agencies to endorse their applications. The quality of foreign teachers surely cannot be guaranteed.

It is ironic that the government agencies -- policy-making and implementing bodies -- were "compelled" to help individual institutions to "endorse" the employment application when they realised that the foreigners to be employed were not appropriate ones. The person in charge had all the power in his hand to seriously implement the government policies, and yet he himself did not take any measure to screen out unqualified candidates.

The following remark by AI10, head of the foreign language department, may be illuminating. The department was going to employ a foreigner who was married to a local Chinese and a trial lesson was conducted. AI10 (L16-18) recalled,

> He was tried on teaching American literature of the Colonial period. We found he knew nothing about literature teaching. We were all dissatisfied. But he was married here and he had his own house. He did not want us to provide housing. That could save us money. So he was employed. Students, of course, felt they could learn nothing from him.

Although realising that the candidate was not a desired one, the departmental administrators still employed the foreigner as a language teacher teaching American literature only because he was cheap. The motivation for the department was likely to be the money as well as the hours the teacher could cover. As along as the foreigner is cheap, and as long as the university can save money for other purposes, the quality of the employee and the interest of the students are totally ignored. Why did the department employ cheap teachers at the expense of the desired quality? The following discussion will reveal the motivations behind such an action.

4.2.2 The Budget Allocation and Employment

China is a country where power is highly centralised. When the central government decrees the employment of foreign teachers in universities, the budgets and quotas of employment are allocated to provincial and local governments, which again reallocate them to individual tertiary institutions. If the allocated money is not used up by the end of the year, it has to be returned to where it comes from. As money is from the central or local governments, tertiary institutions vie with one another to employ as many foreign teachers as they are allowed to, regardless of their actual needs. In addition, employing foreign teachers has become a government imperative that the subordinates have to comply with, and it has also been associated with a test of the administrators' openness and transformative capacity. By failing to employ foreign teachers, the university administrators may risk losing the state money, losing the valuable teaching force imported from Western countries, being labelled non-reformers (AI7), losing the power to attract prospective students, and at worst, losing their own positions. Few people are willing to take such risks.

According to AI6, AI7 and AI14, the money allocated by the government was more than necessary for the purpose, and the extra money could be used for other purposes, such as inviting some special guests, scholars, friends from foreign countries to visit China, and, in turn, the university administrators could go abroad to visit foreign countries. These "benefits" from employing foreign teachers increased the wave of foreign teachers teaching in almost all tertiary institutions in the province, although there might have been no need for foreign teachers at some institutions (AI4, AI5, AI14).

Usually, universities with foreign language departments have more advantages in obtaining the state and provincial allocated quotas to employ foreign teachers than those without foreign language departments. But, to balance the interest derived from employment, the provincial government usually is happy to distribute the quotas, on an egalitarian basis, to individual institutions, rarely considering if these foreign teachers are needed or not. AI4, a university administrator, for example, expressed his frustration about such proportioning because the university did not need any foreign teachers.

Nevertheless, he was "encouraged" by the provincial government to employ two foreign teachers. Of course, he could not resist the temptation of the money from the government, but he had difficulty finding employment for these two foreign teachers. He said (L43-46), "They [department administrators] did not want to employ them, but we encouraged them to." The department administrators were compelled to employ these two foreign teachers whose expertise was not needed. This further compounded the role of the employed foreign teachers in the host institution.

AI7 (L36-37), who had initiated the program of foreign teacher employment in the province, and is now president of a university, condemned the vanity and bureaucracy of some government or university officials who deliberately create vain and superficial impressions in an attempt to boost their own image, to advertise themselves with the number of foreign teachers in the university, to satisfy their own vanity, and to use foreigners as a workforce to fill teacher shortages, without considering the qualification and appropriateness of the foreign teachers being employed. He (L38-43) reasoned that the motivation of universities vying with one another to employ foreign teachers was the result of the inducement of their advertising potential, the labour force, and the money. He explained that the host institutions could benefit much from employing foreigners without losing anything because all the money for the employment came from the government. As a university president, he could not resist the inducement of money for the desired teaching force to fill the teacher shortage, although he hated seeing the programs he initiated being abused.

It is widely known that there is a severe shortage of teachers of English in almost all Chinese universities (see Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a for detailed discussion). The thriving Chinese economy has attracted many teachers to other sectors where they are better paid. Consequently those who remain in their teaching positions are heavily burdened. Foreign teachers paid by the government have become an ideal means for universities to fill the gap. Once employed, according to AI8, they are required to teach at least fourteen hours a week apart from other activities such as helping Chinese teachers and students to solve their problems. Such a teaching load might be light in contrast to the teaching load in the West, but it is almost the combined load of two Chinese teachers. If a foreign language department could get four to six foreign teachers, it had the equivalent of about ten Chinese teachers, and these foreign teachers, for better or worse, are not paid out of the purse of the university. This is a big salary saving to the university. Besides, most universities have a strict control over the number of staff, and as a result, employing foreign teachers has become expedient for the host institution. Many of these foreign teachers are employed much more as casual labourers rather than as experts. In actual practice, they are also used as such (AI6, AI7).

Most Chinese teachers who do not know the motives behind the employment, however, may consider the costs too high. As gap-fillers, foreign teachers' contribution does not seem to match the expense. According to AI8, each year, more than 50,000 *yuan* (approximately AUS$ 10,000) is spent on a foreign teacher while a Chinese teacher can earn only one eighth to one fifth that amount. Chinese teachers do not enjoy the many benefits and privileges that foreign teachers are provided with, such as free travel, free accommodation, and many other services. In spite of the relative luxury provided for foreign teachers, according to AI14, at least one third of the allocated money can be saved for the university. Employing foreign teachers has many advantages -- a sign of opening to the outside world, filling teacher shortage, and saving money for the university. To ordinary Chinese and students, such advantages may be invisible. They can only see the privileges enjoyed by foreign teachers, without recognising the motives behind the scene. AI6 (L30) admitted that such a recruiting practice had caused a great disturbance and a feeling of imbalance among Chinese teachers because of the huge pay differences. As a policy- maker himself, he (L27-28) expressed his dissatisfaction about the current situation.

The situation, according to AI2, AI6 and AI7, was getting worse as there was no monitoring system. AI7 (L44-45) argued that as the provincial government lacked a system of assessment, the provincial officials responsible for the budget allocation usually based their judgement on the reports from host institutions that would always report positive results of the employment, and so they might have a misconception that "the more foreign teachers are employed, the greater the attainment of the university," and thus the greater achievements of those in charge of the employment at the central and provincial government levels.

The foregoing discussion indicates that although there are very strict government regulations regarding employment of foreign teachers, these regulations are very often deliberately violated by local institutions for their own self interests. The motive behind the violation is the attractiveness of money and subsequent potential benefits derived from employing foreign teachers. The government imperative to upgrade Chinese educational standards by making use of foreign expertise has been deliberately misinterpreted and abused for varying motivations. Few Chinese colleges and universities seem to care how the foreign expertise should be made use of for the national interests. Furthermore, the employment has become a ritual and few administrators would consider whether or not they need foreign teachers, what kind of foreign teachers they need, and what these foreign teachers can teach or can't teach. As a result, the inflow of unqualified teachers is almost unstoppable and induction and assessment procedures do not seem to exist. The issues will be investigated in the following subsections.

4.2.3 Lack of Induction Procedures

Job induction is a very important step for the people involved so that they become aware of the nature of the course(s) or subject(s) to be taught, the goals of the course(s), the requirements and expectations of the administrators and the students, the background of the students, and the assessment procedures. It is especially important for foreign teachers to adapt quickly to the life at the host institution (FTI13). FTI4 was sure that orientations were extremely important to foreign teachers prior to their departure and upon their arrival in China. She believed (L159-166),

> I think when teachers arrive or before they arrive, they need information of what courses they are going to be teaching, what sort of materials would be appropriate to bring with them. When they arrive, they need very early orientation, orientation to give them the big picture about the department in which they are working, of the type of students within the department. So if they are given a certain class, they can say "Ah, now I understand these are foreign trade students; these are tourism students." So this is what they are going to need. They need to know the hierarchy of the department. They need to know whom to go for help.

She had experienced her trauma when she first arrived in China and was left alone to feel her way in the dark without any job orientation. She felt extremely insecure because she did not know what was required of her. She did not know anything about the students' backgrounds, their purposes in learning the language, the needs and expectations of the students, and the assessment requirements. She concluded that orientations were of great importance if foreign expertise were to be maximised. FTQ4 (P5:L49-53) agreed that the induction procedures were as important as the teaching itself:

> The host institution should take the time and effort to explain the institution's mission, the department's roles in that mission, the roles, goals, responsibilities of the invited teacher, the types of students, expectations of students and institution, the policy on examinations. As it is all left undefined, vague, shrouded in meaninglessness, most competent professional teachers will go out of their way to please, to fit in, and to make a difference. Too many very good foreign teachers come with enthusiasm, zeal, excitement, and intentions to please and after one semester shrug their shoulders in indifference, having felt the system does not care about much except the status quo (L29-49).

It may be foreign teachers' special status and their advantages in the use of their native tongue that make Chinese administrators and teachers hesitate to take the risk of guiding foreign teachers into the teaching contexts. It is often assumed that since they are experts, there is no need for orientation. In addition, AI9 (L6-10) pointed out that fear and respect were intertwined and consequently to orient a foreign expert into a discipline or a subject, or a course seemed to be an embarrassing task.

Without clear objectives for teaching, without a good knowledge of the students' backgrounds, it would be extremely difficult for foreign teachers to exert all their enthusiasm and zeal in the mission. When foreign teachers are employed, it is the responsibility of the host institution to make the best use of the expertise that they have brought with them. Failing to induct foreign teachers into the ELT program would cause dissatisfaction to all involved.

To involve foreign teachers actively in English teaching, AI11 (L194-214) was sure that it was important for Chinese administrators to understand the teachers' backgrounds, their skills, and their experiences, to help them quickly adapt to the new environments, and to guide their teaching to fit into the needs of the students. He pointed out that foreign teachers should be given opportunities to get involved in the teaching staff activities and become part of the department, rather than marginalised all because they were "different."

AI11's statement was nothing but speculation. Job induction did not seem to exist in the province where this survey was conducted. Without induction, foreign teachers generally attempt, through trial and error, to feel their way into the Chinese classroom culture because they are not given a clear picture of what they are expected to accomplish in their role as foreign teachers (FTI1, FTI4). They have to rely on their own assumptions about what is required of them in the teaching or on anecdotes from friends or from other sources. FTI1(L8-11, 45-48) described her adventure in one of tertiary institutes in the province:

> I didn't know I would be teaching literature until the day before I started [the lesson], which is very common in my experience, as I wasn't equipped to teach literature. I had studied it [in secondary school] but not taught it. And I had no textbooks that I was able to use, so I relied on the Chinese textbook that had excerpts from a range of famous English classics. ... I have seen textbooks here in Australia that talk about the teaching of literature in the classroom, and those sorts of more Western ideas, methodologies could be used if the teacher knew in advance that they would be teaching literature. They would have been equipped with some teaching textbooks to help them.

She had learned her literature in her secondary school days and she had never taught literature before. Yet she was asked to teach the subject that was beyond her field.

Reflected in her adventure is the crisis in English as a subject and the "native speaker fallacy" experienced by the Chinese administrators. In their view, anyone who can speak the language can teach the language, be it literature, stylistics, linguistics or writing. Failing to understand that English includes different subjects and disciplines, the Chinese administrators, deeply believing in the native-speaker fallacy, are likely to ask foreign teachers to play a difficult role: to teach the subjects these foreign teachers may not be specialised in or may have not prepared for. To the Chinese administrators, however, job induction is not necessary because they themselves do not know what to expect from the foreign teachers, and do not have a justifiable purpose for the employment. In addition, the halo of foreign teachers' authority and superiority may prevent any job induction. AI9 (L7-15) argued,

> We may as well not impose our demands on the foreign teachers, assuming that they are native speakers and they probably know better and that they may have their own methods. You cannot demand much from them. On the contrary, you have to respect them.... There are no business-like requirements, or we do not have a clear and precise purpose ourselves. As employers, from the very beginning of the contract, we do not have a clear purpose and requirement, such as why they are employed, what they are to do, what goals they have to achieve, what they are able to offer, like teaching plans and syllabus, what courses they are to teach. ... They feel their way in the dark. After a long period of adjustment, students may still feel they cannot learn much from them.

Her explanation paints a general picture of the recruiting practices in the province. AI15 (L115-116) explained that as most Chinese teachers and administrators were linguistically inferior to foreign teachers, it was impossible for them to provide foreign teachers with induction. Besides, she said, foreign teachers were often deemed to be Number One in the department and no one dared to make an attempt to "control" [original in English] them. Without orientations, foreign teachers have to feel their way through their own perceptions and interpretations of what their roles would be (FTI11, L80-81). They are left to grope on their own. FTI4 (L11-20) explained,

> I think most of my difficulties initially were insecurity in knowing what was required of me. Though I knew I would have a speaking class or a writing class and though I was sometimes given textbooks, I was not really clear to what extent the textbook was prescribed and I should go through them in lock-steps or I should be selective. And so initially it was my insecurity that was the problem. Sometimes, looking back now, I wish I had known immediately the background of my students and I think I would have more quickly cued into their needs because I didn't really know what was meant by a foreign trade class. I didn't know their purpose in study. And so I spent time getting to know where they were at, what their needs were. And had I had a little more early introduction to them, perhaps, that would have been easier.

As the Chinese administrators and teacher were unable to provide a clear job description and job induction, although they could offer help if necessary, foreign teachers had difficulties understanding their expected roles. FTQ5 (L3-14) reported,

> There seems to never be discussion of expectations by either the host institution or the sending institution so most teachers learn on the job. Some teachers don't know ahead of time what they are teaching so preparation is hit and miss until allured. … There is little in the way of a systematic welcome--training--showing around--meeting the key teachers/players.

Not well informed of students' background, their levels of English proficiency, their actual learning needs, foreign teachers' teaching often misses the target. CTI10 (L10-15) reported that when he was a student, he felt very disappointed with the writing class taught by foreign teachers.

> The four-year English writing class should have been graded systematically from the lowest level to the highest level. But in my four years at the university, every year a new foreign teacher came to replace the other, and every teacher taught us from the very beginning. These foreign teachers might have thought that Chinese students were very poor in language competence, and so they always asked us to begin with sentence writing. It was repeated year after year. As a result, we did not learn much.... Our writing abilities remained at the level of paragraph writing. We were not taught anything beyond this level.

His experience implies that the problem lay largely on the part of the Chinese administrators who had failed to coordinate. The lack of coordination surely can cause unsatisfactory teaching, and students' complaints are inevitable. Resolving the problem requires constant efforts on the part of Chinese administrators and teachers to guide foreign teachers into their teaching through orientation and coordination without which foreign teachers' teaching cannot be geared to the needs and expectations of the students (FTQ10). A foreign teacher suggested that "unless the host institute is prepared to spend time with their [foreign] teachers it won't work well" (FTQ, Pilot 1, P5:L9-10).

The lack of induction procedures and on-job orientations, as a Chinese teacher (CTI7) observed, might be one of the causes for foreign teachers' lesser achievement in teaching English in China. The lack of induction seems to have resulted in vague or little understanding of the needs of the students. She (32-50) said,

> ... I felt I could not learn anything from them. They came to the class simply to kill their time. They supplied materials for discussions, and told some jokes. It was relaxing in their class.... I think the problem lay in the lack of coordination. They knew nothing about our syllabus and curriculum. ... They tried to make us happy, but they could not because they failed to know our needs. .... I felt they were enthusiastic and they worked very hard, but the gains did not half match their efforts. I feel it was the lack of coordination. They are employed and they are given textbooks, but they know little about our educational system, our syllabus and requirements.

She (L95-101) claimed that the lack of coordination had led to a gap between Chinese students' expectations and foreign teachers' teaching. To overcome this gap, she suggested, was so tremendous a task that both foreign teachers and Chinese students had to exert their efforts. She (L53-62) believed that it was the responsibility of the departmental administrators to make a big effort to coordinate foreign teachers in their teaching. In her opinion, such coordination included the objectives and specific requirements of the courses they were to teach, students' backgrounds, the English syllabus and curriculum, and the Chinese educational system. She held that besides orientation and coordination, there must be an assessing system to guide or monitor foreign teachers' teaching.

Foreign teachers are expected to tailor their teaching to the needs of the students, but very often, they do not know what these needs are because they are rarely provided with any clear guidelines. A foreign teacher (FTQ, Pilot 3) indicated that in his/her teaching in China, "a negative is that the host institution often doesn't provide a curriculum or detailed guidelines -- usually teachers are given a text and develop their curriculum from that" (L5-8).

The lack of job induction and on-job orientation or guidelines, and the lack of assessing systems all seem to have contributed to the unsatisfactory results that foreign teachers' teaching is claimed to be purposeless, unsystematic, and unsuitable to the needs of the students (to be discussed in the next sections). Foreign teachers are given a lot of freedom in their classroom teaching (FTQ3). With such freedom, it is up to the foreign teachers' enthusiasm and initiative, their professional knowledge, and their idiosyncrasies to teach in the way they interpret the culture. For many administrators, as long as they had put a native speaker in the classroom, they might assume that their responsibility was completed and they just left the rest to the students and the foreign teachers involved. The outcome can thus be predictable: disappointment, anger and resentment shown by the Chinese students. This will be discussed in the following sections.

In summary, it was pointed out that job induction, orientation and coordination played a crucial role for the success or failure of foreign teachers' teaching in China. Unfortunately, such a system did not seem to exist in many Chinese institutions. The lack of such a system might be derived from the Chinese perception that foreign teachers, as experts themselves, should know how to take care of themselves. The lack of an induction process, however, had caused serious problems: foreign teachers' inaccurate understanding of the needs and expectations of the students and the host institution, educational standards, and students' previous learning experiences. These problems caused mutual dissatisfaction on the part of both foreign teachers and Chinese students. Coupled with these issues were the problems involving the recruitment of unqualified foreign teachers.

4.2.4 Inflow of Unqualified Foreign Teachers

It was argued previously that the "native speaker fallacy" and the crises in English identity as a subject tremendously affected the Chinese concepts of the employment as well as the perceptions of foreign teachers' performance. A large majority of Chinese teachers (86.8%, N=45, CTQ:P3:S2:Q1) believed that it was the Chinese recruiting practices that had caused an inflow of unqualified foreign teachers.

The size of the foreign teacher contingent is almost doubled by the spouses of foreign teachers. Unlike in the West where the foreign employee has to look after his/her spouse, foreign teachers' spouses in China are well looked after and they are often employed as "foreign teachers" to teach English, be they a housewife, a librarian, a shop-assistant, or whatever.

A deputy president of a university (AI8) revealed that his university, after years of experience, decided to implement an "employ-the-couple" policy. He (L185-188) explained that employing couples could save money for the university, reduce foreign teachers' isolation, and, as he hinted, prevent sexual harassment that the university had experienced before (to be discussed later in the chapter). Some foreign teachers' spouses are very well trained in teaching and there are cases where the accompanying spouses perform better than the employed foreign experts. But such cases are not very common. FTI3, with three masters degrees in education, strongly criticised the Chinese practice of employing unqualified foreigners and spouses as teachers. He (L179-187) said,

> I have seen the cases where some unqualified teachers have been working in Chinese universities. Often they don't understand the kind of educational and psychological factors involved in learning. And I think that one does have to have basic qualifications, basic educational qualifications to enable these learning settings to be set up.... I think that it's not a good idea to have someone's wife teaching if she is not qualified, if she is just the wife who comes along. And sometimes they give her a class and, most of them, I don't think it's a very effective way of teaching.

A Chinese student (SI12, L87-91) criticised the Chinese recruiting practice, saying,

> I don't think the many spouses are qualified to teach. They have never taught before, nor are they suitable to be university teachers. ... Their teaching outcome is indeed unsatisfactory.

She was certain that she had learned nothing from the accompanying spouses. She felt it difficult to understand why these spouses without any professional qualifications had been employed.

The Chinese indiscriminate recruiting practices might have been based on the assumption that it could never be wrong to have native speakers teach their own language. Such an assumption was also embraced by one of the allegedly incompetent foreign teachers who explained:

> It does not hurt to have a foreign teacher to help teach the foreign language. They are receiving knowledge no matter what because they are just learning how to look at a foreigner, they are just learning something about the foreigner: the way he talks, they way he dresses, or his humour (FTI11, L120-123).

The significance of foreign teachers' contribution, in his view, exists in the modelling effects (live models of the culture) rather than the expertise that the students need.

CTQ1(P5:L2-7) condemned such Chinese recruiting practices based on such a misconception that as long as one was a native speaker, with a university degree, he/she could teach the language, without taking into consideration the needs of the students and the appropriateness of the person being employed. In the years of employment, AI10 (L64-66), the chair of a foreign language department of a prestigious university in the province, commented that

> The foreign teachers we have employed are not highly qualified. A majority of them are not English language majors. Their majors are in other disciplines. It seems that they might be able to teach oral English. But I feel many of them are incompetent in teaching oral English.

AI7 (L14-19) gave another account,

> Very few of the foreign teachers we employ have ever taught in the United States or Canada. Most of them are undergraduates fresh from universities, majoring in other disciplines rather than English language teaching. There is a misconception that any American undergraduate can teach English, just as any Chinese university undergraduate without a Chinese major can teach Chinese in the United States. They do not have any basic training in language teaching.... They may possess some cultural knowledge, but when they come to teach the language, what they do in the classroom is but to follow the textbook item by item, without any dynamics. They are not teachers by profession, and they are not specialised in English language and literature. They are employed to teach English in China. Our students are surely dissatisfied.

What is common in these two statements by the head of the foreign language department and the university president from two universities is that they both have recognised the problems of the employment and yet neither of them offered a satisfactory solution to the problems. They fully understood that the foreign teachers they had employed were of low quality, but they failed to answer why unqualified teachers had to be employed.

FTI4 (L148-152) also held a strongly negative view about the Chinese employment of unqualified teachers. She contended that someone with a PhD in geology might be a very intelligent person, but would not necessarily be a good language teacher. It seemed to her that the pieces of paper were important for Chinese universities in need of people with masters and doctoral degrees, but, she believed, these degrees should be in appropriate areas to the needs of the students. She (L75-81) explained,

> As I feel a lot of people coming with perhaps high academic qualifications, but these qualifications may not be related to English whether it be language or literature. They may be qualifications of a totally different discipline. And so these teachers feel frustrated. They are used to teaching at a higher level within their discipline, and the skills they have developed in teaching are not readily transferable to the teaching of a language. So I think some of them just lack the background in teaching English as a second language.

To FTI3 (L201), employing unqualified and inexperienced teachers to teach the language that they are unable to teach can cause disastrous effects in ELT in China. Those foreign teachers fresh from the university, he (203-207) observed, did not have any teaching experience and any understanding of the foreign culture they were working in, and as a result, "They didn't teach very effectively. There were criticisms from their students." FTQ10 also emphasised the importance of previous teaching experience. He (L32-38) wrote,

> I believe there are a lot of teachers wanting to come to China to teach. However, many of them are not qualified teachers, and therefore, sometimes there are problems. I think the teachers coming to China should have experience in teaching and it would be good to be former English teachers. An experienced teacher will be able to adjust much more quickly to the teaching situation than a non-teacher. The teacher has enough to adjust to without having to learn how to teach for the first time as well.

FTQ9 (L50-52) held a similar view. She believed that experienced teachers would be of more benefit to the host institution than those who had never taught before and were not trained as teachers. She (L52-53) claimed that "high standards and expectations will result in high quality of education for the Chinese students."

In the view of CTI8 (L12-21), who had lived in the United States for more than forty years, unqualified teachers were recruited because Chinese universities did not have many choices. In addition, the only thing that was available for the selection was the curriculum vitae, which almost all foreigners were good at writing in glowing terms (also in CTI4). Therefore, Chinese universities had to "buy a pig in the poke" (original in English). These foreign teachers came and they had to be accepted. Thus a fairly large proportion of unqualified and incompetent foreign teachers were honoured with the title of "Foreign Experts", but they were not experts and professionals in language teaching, although some had their doctoral degrees. CTI8 said a doctoral degree did not guarantee that the holder was a competent language teacher.

It is difficult to make an estimate of how many foreign teachers are excellent, good, ordinary, or bad. In CTI8's (L50-51) estimation, "approximately 70~80% of foreign teachers were unqualified," i.e., these foreign teachers might have their qualifications, but they were incapable of teaching the language. In AI11's (L47-48, &66) rating, about 60% were good foreign teachers, 40% bad ones. AI15 (L69-70) gave another figure: "I am afraid altogether, less than one third, or one fourth at most, of foreign teachers are good ones, extremely bad ones are rare, and the majority are very ordinary." AI9 (L37) described this phenomenon as "two extremes", suggesting that excellent teachers and extremely bad teachers were few in number while most foreign teachers were ordinary ones, in a sense that they might have failed to fulfil role expectations as foreign experts. CTQ15 (P5:L4-5) concluded that "good foreign teachers are difficult to find; yet low-quality teachers can only do disservice rather than service to English language teaching in China."

Many Chinese teachers made an assumption that there could be very positive effects if good foreign teachers could be employed. "If" was the word that a large majority of Chinese teachers used often followed by "but", suggesting that there were good foreign teachers, *but* they were very few in number. CTQ25(P5:L13-19) pointed out that

> If students are lucky enough to have a good foreign teacher, his/her teaching can be helpful to their English proficiency (especially in their listening and speaking), but ...

> foreign teachers lack the knowledge of the subject they teach, and lack the teaching competence, ... students, therefore, cannot learn anything from them.

CTI13 (L88-94) observed that the failure of foreign teachers teaching English in the province resulted from the fact that many of them had never taught English before they arrived in China. They knew nothing about language teaching principles, teaching methods, and cultural differences. Although some foreign teachers claimed to have been trained in TESL/TEFL in their home countries, she argued, the training seemed to be so superficial and the time of training was so short that they lacked the necessary competence to teach in the Chinese social context. She remembered being taught by an American who claimed to have been trained in TESL, but her training had lasted only three to four weeks. She implied that it was difficult to produce competent language teachers in such a short period although they might have been "qualified." SI27 (L150-157) found the vast gap between foreign teachers' teaching competence and their qualifications. A student (SI29, L160-166) expressed her frustration and bitterness in the following remark:

> They come from developed countries. But they come to the Third World because they have difficulties staying in their own countries, or they are unemployed, or they have got nothing to eat there. We are indeed profoundly humiliated. This indeed is harmful to the development of our education.

It can be expected that incompetent teachers may not achieve desired teaching results. It is especially true of those who have never been trained in language teaching. SI12 (L24-32) reported being taught by an American lady who specialised in designing clothes. She was teaching English literature. Except for her familiarity with her native tongue, she knew nothing about literature or the teaching of literature that requires the teacher to be highly versed in the language and literary conventions. She remarked that the one-year English literature course with the designer was a waste of time, and a hindrance to students' language learning. Similar cases were found in other students' reports (such as in SI13, SI27, SI39). In the opinion of SI39 (L19-26), these foreign teachers were fooling the students.

CTQ46 (P5:L14-15) commented that the employment of unqualified foreign teachers caused an unnecessary economic waste, and, to some extent, had counterproductive effects on EFL teaching in China. She said that these foreign teachers were very expensive[6] and yet they were utterly ineffective in their teaching. The view is commonly shared by other Chinese teachers, students, and even some foreign teachers. CTQP2 (Pilot Survey, L7-11) wrote,

> In recent years, the employment of foreign teachers has become a ritualised event. Except for its pure window-dressing effects, it is totally pointless.... The employers blindly recruit foreigners whom they do not really know. The candidates come to China to travel and teaching is but a by-product. Although some may be willing to commit themselves to teaching, they lack professional knowledge and teaching competence.

CTQ5 (P5:L4-5) complained that these unqualified foreign teachers "interfere with and obstruct the normal process of teaching in the department." Although such a remark may be too harsh, there are indeed some serious problems in the employment.

The discussion so far has focused on the ineffective teaching by unqualified and inexperienced foreign teachers. At the other extreme, Chinese host institutions tend to employ "over-qualified" foreign teachers. The over-qualified teachers, in the view of FTI1 (L65-79), also had problems to precisely identify and appropriately cater for the needs of the Chinese students. She held a negative view about China' insistence on employing foreigners with doctoral degrees. She (L78) said, "it was totally of no use. It was totally above their heads" (L78). She held that the success of teaching lay in finding the right person to teach the right course (subject) to the right class. Only in this way, she asserted, could the advantages of foreign teachers outweigh the disadvantages.

To sum up, this section examined three potential problems related to the Chinese foreign teacher recruiting system and the implementation procedures: the violation of the government regulations, employment for sectional interests, and lack of induction procedures, all of which led to the employment of unqualified foreign teachers. The discussion has pointed out that Chinese students and teachers were dissatisfied with the teaching by unqualified foreign teachers but that the native speaker teachers often viewed themselves as having done a good job. Perceptual differences created a disparity in understanding foreign teachers' performance. This following section will investigate disparities in pedagogical expectations.

---

[6] Ordinary Chinese teachers do not know that the money is from the government, not from the university.

4.3 Disparities in Pedagogical Expectations

This section will first examine the theoretical bases of the teaching methods used by foreign teachers. Then four recurrently converging themes will be reported and discussed: pedagogical inappropriateness, rigid teaching styles, unsystematic and incoherent teaching, and foreign teachers' irresponsible attitudes towards teaching.

4.3.1 Theoretical Bases of the Teaching Methods Used by Foreign Teachers

Almost all foreign teachers claimed to have used the communicative approach in their teaching though some define their teaching approaches in different terminologies, such as the interactive approach (FTI3), the Socratic approach (FTI12), and the co-operative approach (FTI5; FTI6). According to Marton (1988, pp. 38-39), the communicative approach focuses on speaking activities, involving spontaneous exchanges in unplanned discourse, on fluency, on negotiations of meanings, on problem-solving skill-building, and on the central role of the learner rather than teacher. The core of the approach is the attempt to meet the needs and interests of the learner and to develop the learner's communicative competence (Canale & Swain, 1980). It is important to point out, however, that there are often discrepancies between espoused theory and classroom practice. The discussion that follows will examine these discrepancies.

According to FTI11 (L88-90), the communicative approach was the "biggest" approach he adopted in his teaching,

> That's my biggest approach. ... It is just to practise communication and provide opportunities, set up different situations, and to provide a comfortable atmosphere so that they can relax and have fun with it.

FTI5 (L96-103) described his teaching approach as the "co-operative learning" approach in which students could work together, and he was sure that this approach, with its interactive features, could facilitate students' learning:

> They get a lot more input in a group setting than they do in an individual setting..... We use a lot of different things in our classes so far as different teaching techniques. We don't stand up in front to lecture like Chinese teachers do. We move around. We are very active.

In implementing such teaching techniques, he (L140-142) said, the classroom had to be restructured to enable everybody to face one another. He (L144-146) believed that students needed interactions through which they could practise sharing ideas, working and cooperating with each other. He firmly believed that without such interactions learning could not occur. He (L155-161) argued that in using the approach, although there were some disadvantages of noise, what was accomplished was much greater than when students were passively sitting there, listening to the teacher.

FTI6 held a similar view that student-student interaction was the only way for students to learn the language. She (L195-199) remarked,

> I do a lot varied things. I do cooperative learning. I do a lot of team-, pair-type work where they do peer tutoring, and they work together in pairs. I give them things to do. And they are talking and practising because ... I was to get them to open their mouths. So obviously, if you only have one talk at a time, it is very hard. So if they talk in pairs, then they have interaction.

She (L207-208) felt it was very important to involve the students in interactions by role playing so as to allow them to break out of the pre-programmed speeches. She emphasised spontaneous interaction rather than drilling or memorising some grammatical rules. She (L208-212) explained,

> We do a lot of role-playing. I think that's good for them because they have to get up and talk and act out some little story in our book. And when they do that, I will not let them read out of their book. They have to speak it out in their own words. Some of them memorise, some of them don't. I do not give them much time to do memorising. They have to just, you know, speak more off the top of their heads. And I think that's useful.

In such interactive activities, both FTI5 and FTI6 were sure that team work, pair work, peer tutoring and role playing were the most effective instruments to get students involved. FTI6 (L244 & 251) was convinced that her teaching was appreciated by her students.

FTI12 (L54-65), who had taught in China for more than six years, described his teaching approach as the Socratic method, in which the teacher asks questions, and the students answer them. In teaching English literature, he said he used the discussion format popular in the American classroom to get the students to discuss a particular author, point of view, or a topic.

It seemed to FTI3 (L113-126) that the interactive style of teaching was very effective. The approach, he maintained, encouraged the students to interact with other students in a group setting so as to promote their learning, and to overcome the shortcomings of the transmission style of teaching popular in Chinese classrooms.

The communicative approach, equivalent of the interactive approach and co-operative learning, was the most dominant approach in almost all subjects, such as oral English, newspaper reading, and English literature. In the Newspaper Reading class, for example, FTI14 (L80-81) tried to organise the students "to do some pair work and some group work so that everybody has an opportunity to talk." When FTI1 (L30-37) taught Shakespearean sonnets, she did not help students to understand the meaning, the structure, the style, diction, symbols, figures, and the use of language. Instead, she organised the students into groups to talk about contemporary issues -- love. It seemed to her that interaction was more important than the mastery of linguistic forms and understanding of literary conventions.

In sum, most foreign teachers applied the multiple principles of the communicative approach in their teaching by organising the students into small groups to engage in group work, peer tutoring, role plays, discussions and debates in an attempt to enhance the students' interactive spontaneity and language competence. It is their firm belief that Chinese students need to acquire their language competence through use in communication. The following subsection will discuss the Chinese students' response to the teaching approaches adopted by the foreign teachers.

4.3.2 The Chinese Students' Responses to Foreign Teachers' Teaching

It was pointed out previously that one of the Chinese objectives of employing foreign teachers was to introduce Western teaching methods into the Chinese classroom. The methods were associated with Western power and wealth. It was assumed that once the Chinese had understood and mastered these Western methods, there could be a transformation in either education or economy. However, it remains doubtful foreign teachers' contributions to English teaching in China have all been positively viewed.

4.3.2.1 Chinese Students' Negative Responses

The survey data reveal that there exist significant disparities in expectations between the perceptions of the Chinese teachers/students and those of the foreign teachers. These discrepancies in expectations may be the major contributing factors in teacher-student tensions.

The survey data indicate that only 18.2% (FTQ:P4:Q1) of foreign teachers said that they often lectured in the class; about one third of them (33.4%, FTQ:P3:S1:Q12) agreed or strongly agreed that the lecture-dominated approach was more acceptable than the learner-centred approach. In contrast 69.3% of Chinese teachers (CTQ:P4:Q1) replied that they lectured most of the time, and 51.9% of them believed that a lecture format was more acceptable than the learner-centred approach (CTQ:P3:S1:Q14). A large majority of the Chinese students (93.4%,
SQ:P3:Q2) considered lectures to be important or extremely important.

Nearly two thirds (63.7%, FTQ:P3:S5:Q13) of the foreign teachers (in contrast to 25% of the Chinese teachers [CTQ:P3:S6:Q12]) believed that students can achieve more success in participating in group activities than in attending lectures. The Chinese students rank "pair work," "role plays," "peer correction" and "group activities" at the bottom of the thirty-five learning techniques (SQ:P3:Q17-20). The students' views will be reported shortly.

The sharp contrasts suggest that there indeed exist differing views about learning and teaching between foreign teachers and Chinese students and teachers. Now I will discuss the views, assumptions and practices of foreign teachers in the province to identify the problems in question.

The foreign teachers did not feel that it was easy to implement the communicative approach (FTI6, FTI11, FTI12). The difficulty lay in Chinese students' reserved personalities (FTI6) and their cultural perceptions of the teacher-student roles (FTI12). In the experience of FTI12 (L54-65), the success was very limited because the Chinese students were reluctant to participate in the group work, and because they expected the teacher to lecture most of the time in front of them as the transmitter of knowledge that needed to be known. Sensing that the expected knowledge was not transmitted, he noted, they would react negatively to the teaching that they might regard as a waste of time. He was aware that teachers who did not lecture most of the time would be considered irresponsible. In spite of his awareness of such Chinese students' views, in teaching English literature, he stuck to his Socratic methods -- discussion- or debate-type teaching methods -- rather than "blanket lectures" that covered every detail of the material. Perceiving himself as an agent of change, FTI12 tried to impose this model on the Chinese students in spite of strong learner resistance.

Similarly, FTI11 found that the communicative approach he used was strongly rejected by the students. He reported (L56-70),

> Our methods are much more interactive and so at first when we begin to ask questions, students just sit there silently. They don't answer. If you ask them "Yes" and "No" questions, they still don't answer. If you ask them to vote, there is still no answer. If you say "Everybody has to vote, OK. How many of you choose this?" Nobody raises his hand. That's what it was like initially. So it takes perseverance on our part. ... There are a few classes, well, obviously the personality, every class has a

> different personality. Some of the classes you walk in you feel there is tension in the room, the relationship between the students is not good. And interactive methods don't work every well in those type of classes.

Most foreign teachers believed that although traditional Chinese teaching methods had their advantages, Western teaching methods should be introduced in order to maximise their expertise. In their teaching practice, the communicative methods prevailed. The chance of success, however, was very small. In the view of FTI3 (L72-85), some foreign teachers, "with only half-developed ideas of what their role is" (L72-73), were attempting to change the attitudes of the Chinese students and teachers by imposing their teaching methods on the Chinese culture without considering their cultural and contextual appropriateness. He said he had seen occasions when these foreign teachers failed to achieve what they were striving for and the Chinese students developed a negative attitude toward them.

CTI2 (L177-179) believed that direct transference of Western teaching methods without adaptation could disappoint and frustrate Chinese students, and foreign teachers as well. Although some foreign teachers made adjustments to their teaching methods, SQ86 (P4:L4-6) observed that the foreign teachers' teaching methods were too Western to be accepted.

The survey data (SQ:P2:S1:Q1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9-13, 16-17) suggest that foreign teachers' teaching failed to fulfil the students' expectations and as a result disappointment, frustration, and tension occurred and increased with repeated exposure. For year-four students, in particular, the tension is sharpest. Nearly two thirds of them (61.5%, SQ:P2:S1:Q5) reported that they were disappointed with foreign teachers' teaching. The disappointment arose from their unfulfilled expectations (71.8%, SQ:P2:S1:Q9). They felt that foreign teachers' teaching, though good for oral communication (64.1%, SQ:P2:S1:Q13) and listening (89.7%, SQ:P2:S1:Q2), failed to address the needs of the students (79.6%, SQ:P2:S1:Q4) and did not help them to attain a high level of proficiency (71.8%, SQ:P2:S1:Q12). Most of them believed that few foreign teachers had lived up to their expectations (89.7%, SQ:P2:S1:Q17). They claimed that they could learn more in Chinese teachers' classes than in foreign teachers' classes (94.9%, SQ:P2:S1:Q16), and they therefore preferred Chinese teachers' lessons to foreign teachers' lessons (82%, SQ:P2:S1:Q1).

There was, therefore, clearly a mismatch between what the foreign teachers had taught and the way they had taught, and what the Chinese students had expected (CTI3. L115-117). Both foreign and Chinese teachers recognised that the mismatch could cause or had caused misunderstandings (90.9%, FTQ:P3:S5:18; 80.8%, CTQ:P3:S6:18) and teacher-student clashes. Such clashes, AI6 (L19-21) maintained, were very common and had become topical issues in China's educational circles.

The mismatch was likely to lead to teacher-student tensions. The students were in a paradoxical position: they had a strong desire to learn the language with native speakers, but to their disappointment, what the foreign teachers were doing was not what they had expected. The foreign teachers, too, were expecting to prove the true value of their expertise by using what they believed to be the "best" teaching methods, and at the same time by using tough measures when they had sensed their teaching was not appreciated.

SI10 (L166-171) complained that the teacher who taught literature was extremely tyrannical. The students were not allowed to challenge what she required the students to do; failing to comply with her command meant a penalty deduction from the total scores in the final examinations. She maintained that teachers imposing their wills on students would only help build up students' resentment and create an obstacle to their learning. SI2 (L59-63) confirmed that foreign teachers were extremely strict in their requirements, which students had to follow word by word without any errors. She said that foreign teachers' so-called dynamic classroom atmosphere was established on students' blind obedience to their senseless commands.

When the students could not tolerate foreign teachers' teaching, according to SI7 (L192-196), most of them would respond negatively by finding excuses to absent themselves from classes, in defiance of the advice by the departmental administrators that students should respect foreign teachers and attend their classes. She reported that the departmental administrators had recognised what was happening as routine and made a compromise with the students that they could do whatever they liked in the classroom if they were displeased with their lessons, provided that they came to the class. However, she said, many students felt that the classroom atmosphere would interfere with rather than enhance their learning and they preferred self-oriented learning in a quiet place to foreign teachers' teaching.

Absenteeism, an indicator of students' negative attitudes towards teaching, had become a serious problem in foreign teachers' classes (SI11, SI35, SI40). In some universities, the departmental administrators seemed to turn a blind eye to the fact, which was too familiar for them to bother trying to remedy, but in others, there was no leniency in responding to students' absenteeism. Foreign teachers themselves saw students' absenteeism as taboo and so they had to enforce classroom regulations (CTI10). The enforcement of regulations, however, further intensified the already existing teacher-student conflicts. Instead of finding ways to improve their teaching, SI11 (L206-209) noted, some foreign teachers used their prescribed power to compel students to attend their boring classes by keeping strict attendance records. She said that the students with low attendance records might not get a pass in the course, and a non-pass would be a threat to their future graduation and job assignments. She argued that students were disgusted with such high pressure, and she concluded that when in the hands of bad foreign teachers, students could suffer endlessly. The students were placed in a Catch-22 situation when foreign teachers' classes were uninteresting and unproductive, but if they absented themselves from the classes, they were punished severely by foreign teachers and the university in accordance with the teachers' and university regulations. If they went to the classes, they found such classes unbearable. Under such circumstances, she said, the students felt utterly disappointed, "The foreign teachers have deceived us" (L186). SI12 (L100-104) made a similar observation. She commented that these enraged foreign teachers sometimes behaved abnormally and irrationally if they sensed that their lessons were not appreciated.

The research findings indicate that the students' negative response is largely, not solely, reflected in four recurrently converging themes: (a) inappropriateness, (b) rigidity, (c) lack of systematicity, and (d) irresponsibility. The following discussion will address these four issues.

4.3.2.2 Foreign Teachers' Inappropriate Teaching Methods

It was indicated in the previous discussion that most foreign teachers had used the communicative approach to engage the students in interactive participation and communication. However, interactive teaching, as a two-way track (AI10), must consider not only the teachers' interest in certain teaching methods, but also the students' interest and their level of proficiency. Meeting the needs of the learner is a priority in the teacher's choice of teaching methods. Failing to meet the needs of the students can lead to unsatisfactory results.

As foreign teachers do not know, or probably have not been allowed to know, the Chinese students' level of language proficiency, they may form an incorrect view that students are poor in their language competence (SI12, L24-43). In the observation of CTI1 (L88-91), almost all foreign teachers tended to under-estimate Chinese students' level of English and so they often lacked depth in their teaching. He was sure that this was a very common phenomenon in all universities in China. Having under-estimated the students' actual level of proficiency, foreign teachers tended to use simple materials and low-level teaching methods which failed to fulfil students' expectations (SQ26, SQ85). One of the recurrent themes in the survey is that foreign teachers' teaching often fails to meet the actual needs of the students. More than half of the students (54.7%, SQ:P2:S1:Q4) believed that their learning needs were not met by foreign teachers. In the perception of many Chinese teachers, foreign teachers had little knowledge of how to effectively teach Chinese English learners (50%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q6). The Chinese teachers believed that some foreign teachers' teaching is wasteful of students' time and energy (65.4%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q8).

SI31 (L117-118) complained that foreign teachers, not knowing the actual needs of the students, used the same methods to teach students at all levels, and what they taught was too simple to be useful. SI40 (L13-14) felt utterly disappointed with foreign teachers' simple teaching. She said (L22-24) that there were more than thirty students in her class, but only ten-odd students came to the foreign teacher's class because many felt the foreign teacher's class was no better than their own self-directed learning. She reported that they were being taught by a Londoner, reportedly an expert in education. She commented that he seemed to know some teaching methods, but these methods were suitable for children only, not for adults. She admitted that he might have exerted all his efforts in teaching, performing marvellously like an actor in class, but his teaching was not appreciated. She said the foreign teacher who taught reading assigned homework that was suitable for junior secondary pupils only, not to the fourth-year university English majors. She asked her son in Year 7 to complete the assigned homework, instead.

Similar reports were found in many other interviews. SI30 (L133-137) asserted that it was simply unbearable to sit in the foreign teachers' class in which they taught very elementary content that those students had already learned in their secondary schools. He suspected they were deliberately cheating the students by giving them useless things, by failing to meet their expectations.

CTI6 (L44-47), who just graduated from the university, recalled that in her student days, most foreign teachers had treated the university students like children, like beginners, and taught them simple things, such as "how are you?" and "how do you do", without realising that the students had learned English for many years. Her view was echoed by CTQ25 (P5:16-18) who claimed students did not appreciate foreign teachers' teaching because they always started their teaching, in almost all the courses they were teaching, from the elementary stage, using techniques entirely unsuitable for English majors who had studied English for a long time.

SI12 (L58-63) noted that in foreign teachers' writing classes, she did not learn anything because all foreign teachers began their writing classes from the very beginning (repeatedly), from simple writing models, such as sentence writing, paragraph writing, or topic sentences. SI2 (L91-94) found the foreign teacher's way of teaching English writing unbearable. She commented that it was useless to ask students to write very simple things, such as descriptions of an apple and a floor, about which students could not find much to write. SI1 (L35-38) complained that the teacher was not teaching writing skills that they had expected, such as structures, discourse, and writing techniques. Instead, he stuck to his own way, compelling students to do dictations. She reported that her classmates felt it a torture to attend the foreign teacher's class.

The group-, debate- and discussion-type or interactive classes were highly valued by foreign teachers and many of them stuck to such patterns in their teaching. These methods, if sparingly and properly used, can be very effective in developing students' language competence, but the Chinese students did not accept them as major teaching methods.

SI3 (L126) believed that the foreign teacher's teaching was intolerable and that students had to obey the teacher's commands instead of willingly participating in group activities. SI1 (L127-130) claimed that foreign teachers were obsessed with students' participation, but they often failed to manage the classroom activities effectively. She said that there were many disadvantages of group work, but foreign teachers tended to ignore them. She emphasised that the foreign teacher compelled students to do pair work together, and the outcome was never satisfactory. She (L135-137) noticed that some other foreign teachers, too, tended to involve students in the discussions and role plays by compelling students to repeat item by item from the textbook, and any deviations would be penalised. Such dogmatic teaching, she complained, could be detrimental to learning. In the opinion of SQ93 (P4:L1-2), "group work and discussions are a waste of time."

AI15 (L88-93), the long-term vice dean in charge of foreign teachers' teaching, observed that almost all foreign teachers had used almost the same teaching modes -- they did not lecture; instead, they let students do whatever they liked, with no purpose and no requirements. She (L81) described foreign teachers' oral classes as "noisy, relaxing, and leaking", indicating that foreign teachers' lessons encouraged students to participate in a lot of noisy activities without demands so that students felt relaxed, but the outcome was that students could not learn anything -- it all leaked, without anything left for the students. She doubted if foreign teachers in her department had the same understanding of the course requirements as the administrators expected. "Is it that they misunderstand our course requirements or that we, as academic administrators, have not explained clearly enough to them?" (L90-91). She felt puzzled over their ineffective teaching.

SI12 (L34-43) contended that foreign teachers might hold a wrong notion that teaching oral English was to chat, to talk, to communicate, without any purpose, and without any preparation. She asserted that such purposeless teaching could not help the students to reach a high level of proficiency because foreign teachers had nothing new to offer, nor did they have anything to offer except some simple English like "how are you?", "what's your name?", "where are you from?", or at best, they would give some topics for students to have "free talks", to freely express their views. She concluded that students could not learn anything from such teaching (L12-14). Such teaching techniques, emphasising very simple things in interactions, both SI8 and SI11 believed, were inappropriate for adult learners and could not generate the desired results because foreign teachers failed to recognise differences in ages.

The learner resistance to the interactive style of teaching is also reflected in English literature classes. SI10 (L24-28) felt that she did not appreciate the foreign teacher's literature class because the teacher refused to lecture. The teacher, instead, acted as a commentator in students' discussions without offering his/her views. She (L132-133) asserted, "It is not easy for us to come to the university, but these foreign teachers have ruined us. It sounds pompous that we have learned English literature, but we know nothing at all."

SI12 (L11-14) agreed that "the foreign teachers come, give us a topic without careful thought, then ask us to talk, and ask us to stand up to make comments. Such teaching is totally useless." Her (L116-127) comparison of a Chinese teacher's class with a foreign teacher's class in teaching the same literary piece reinforced her perception that the Chinese teacher was much better than the foreign teacher in teaching English literature. She said, in teaching the same poem, the Chinese teacher could explain everything clearly and students could really understand the ideas suggested in the poem. But it was another matter with the foreign teacher's class in which students were asked to discuss the idea(s) in the poem. She said that foreign teachers asked everyone to contribute something through group work, but no one knew what the poem was about, nor did the teacher. SQ45 (P4:4-5) declared that he/she liked Chinese teachers better than foreign teachers who knew very little of the needs of the Chinese students and who adopted methods that were inappropriate to the needs of the students.

In her observation of the teaching of a Canadian teacher whose special area was English language teaching methodology, AI15 (L50-53) claimed, "in terms of teaching methodology, she was a low-quality teacher, too low to teach the postgraduates." It seemed to her that the teacher had under-estimated Chinese students' learning abilities by offering something far below their abilities. She complained that the teacher had little knowledge of pedagogy, linguistics, sociology, and psychology, which were the basis of teaching methodology, and so her teaching was so "shallow" that she did not seem to have anything to offer.

The discussion so far suggests that there is a mismatch between the foreign teachers' pedagogical "agenda" and that of the students. The mismatch gives rise to disparities between what is taught and what is learned. AI11 (L68-78), dean of a foreign language department, observed that many foreign teachers, though with their Masters or doctoral degrees, usually were not aware of the cultural differences and the needs of the Chinese students and their learning difficulties. Teaching as such, he asserted, was unlikely to achieve the desired results. As the Chinese students did not regard group work, games, role plays, or discussions as teaching in a formal sense, he maintained, clashes were bound to occur when foreign teachers insisted on using these teaching techniques in an attempt to develop students' individuality, creativity, or spontaneity in interaction. He reasoned that the Chinese students, failing to recognise the rationale behind these techniques, tended to respond negatively, to the extent of seeing the teaching emphasising these activities as a waste of time.

To sum up, foreign teachers' teaching, emphasising the importance of interactive classroom activities in oral, reading and literature classes, often receives negative responses from the Chinese students who often believe that foreign teachers' teaching methods, deemed too simple and too impractical, are not appropriate to their learning needs. Related to the inappropriateness of the teaching methods are the foreign teachers' rigid and unsystematic styles of teaching to be examined respectively in the following subsections.

4.3.2.3 Foreign Teachers' Rigid Teaching Styles

The second recurrent theme surrounding foreign teachers' teaching is related to their rigid teaching styles. The term *rigid teaching style* is used here to refer to the major teaching patterns teachers use. The theme under discussion is related to the gap between the perceptions about the foreign teacher's pedagogical purpose of classroom activities and students' perceptions about the rationale of the learning tasks set by the teacher, the teacher's classroom management and the teacher's choice of teaching techniques.

Foreign teachers are reported to often stick to their beliefs about teaching. These beliefs may be derived from their own fundamental assumptions about teaching and learning, and from previous teaching and learning experiences. These beliefs, possibly in conflict with students' beliefs about teaching and learning, or with teaching and learning theories so far in existence, orchestrate the teachers' teaching activities. The larger the gaps between the values and beliefs, the greater the student-teacher clashes.

As reported earlier, most foreign teachers were preoccupied with the interactive teaching approach that they believed would enhance Chinese students' learning. The Chinese students and foreign teachers, however, are not at the same level of understanding. To the Chinese students, such approaches are suitable for children only, but not for adults (SQ20, SQ45, SQ129, SQ134; CTI5). There seems to be no compromise in such perceptions. The more the foreign teachers emphasised cooperative learning, peer tutoring, group activities, the less the Chinese students felt they had benefited from their teaching (SI8, SI9, SI30, SI32). The clash resides in the teachers' preoccupation with the approach and the students' reluctance to accept the rationale of the teaching activities (SI13) which emphasise interaction but ignore necessary linguistic input (SI5, SI7, SI7, SI11). To the Chinese students, the foreign teachers' narrow range of teaching techniques and limited options in teaching methods was a hurdle to their effective teaching and as a result the students found their classroom activities inflexible and tedious (SQ3).

CTI5 (L28-39) expressed her disappointment by saying that in her five-year university life as a student, she felt unlucky because she had never met good foreign teachers. Except for one advantage, i.e. listening to them speaking their language, she claimed that she had learned nothing from them. She recalled that foreign teachers insisted on students doing games, which she believed were appropriate for children only. Besides, she reported, those unqualified foreign teachers made the students tediously and endlessly memorise grammatical structures and do dictations.

The teacher-student tension can arise when the teacher's teaching is not what is expected, especially when the teacher clings to what he/she believes in. SI7 (L107-112) found that some foreign teachers were very stubborn in their beliefs. She said that in the writing class, the foreign teacher limited students' composition to five sentences only: a topic sentence, supporting details, and a conclusion. Students who wrote more than five sentences or less than five were penalised for not meeting the requirements. She found this unbearable because five sentences, however concise they were, were not enough to express her ideas.

Some foreign teachers might believe that oral English and listening are closely related, and therefore reading might help the students improve their listening so as to improve their oral English. With such a rationale, reading aloud mechanically lengthy texts becomes a teaching technique. Such mechanical reading, according to AI7, was attributable to some foreign teachers' inexperience in teaching. SI2 (L88-94) felt exasperated with such a teaching technique. So did SI15 (L52-54) who considered it totally unsuitable for language learning. SI16 (L70-71) reasoned that such mechanical reading exhausted and frightened away students because the texts were very long. SI17 (L79-83) explained that students refused to attend foreign teachers' classes because they were not interested in their inflexible teaching methods: reading the textbook from the beginning to the end of the class, without any interpretation, and without taking students' interest into consideration. SI19 (L87-90) reported that the foreign teacher, who was teaching oral English, routinely asked the students to read very long texts after him, never changing the teaching modes. She said, such a rigid style of teaching had sent many students fleeing from the foreign teachers' class.

Mechanical reading might have been helpful for listening and for modelling of pronunciation. SI8 (49-51) found, however, that some foreign teachers' strange accents[7] were extremely difficult for the students to understand or to accept. Furthermore, the students could not find any association between mechanical reading and oral competence (SQ233, SQ242). Some Chinese teachers might also adopt such a teaching technique, but SQ246 (P4:L7-8) reported that "most foreign teachers teach by reading the text item by item to the extent that they are worse than Chinese teachers in the past." SQ244 felt very sad to see students' precious time wasted with such mechanical and dull reading (also in SQ16, SQ122, SQ123).

Another allegedly rigid teaching style involving foreign teachers was foreign teachers' refusal to use textbooks, especially in oral English classes. The teacher-student clash arose from the students' reliance on textbooks and the foreign teachers' insistence on not using them. Many foreign teachers interviewed (such as FTI1, FTI2, FTI4, FTI6, FTI8) acknowledged that they did not use the prescribed textbooks in their teaching. FTI6 (L316-319) believed that it would be useless to go all the way through the book in class. Instead, he said, "I would rather concentrate on helping them learn what I can, you know, and make sure they understand it." FTI10 (L106-110) claimed that the textbook was useful. It was something that students could refer to outside of the class, and he emphasised, "I don't think I by no means rely on it. I see it as a very useful supplementary material, perhaps, rather than the basis of the whole teaching." To FTI8 (L144-147), a teacher's reliance on textbooks for teaching and students' reliance on textbooks for learning would not help students develop their language skills and abilities to use the language because "texts have limitations whoever designs them." She (L263-266) felt unhappy because she had to use the textbooks that were badly structured with wrong usage, and yet, students had to learn because the state-administered examinations were based on them. FTI4 (L28-34) did not use the prescribed textbooks in the Oral English class because she found that the texts were not related to the needs of the students. She felt frustrated because she was required to pursue the course unit by unit in a way that she was unwilling to do. She did not like the texts that she had to teach and she did not like to teach that way.

---

[7] Foreign teachers come from different English-speaking countries. Some foreign teachers (such as teachers from Texas in the US, from Liverpool in England, and teachers from some areas in Australia and New Zealand) have accents which are difficult for the Chinese students to get accustomed to because the students have become used to the patterns of "Received Pronunciation" or "Queen's English" as heard from the BBC or presented in tapes.

The Chinese students, however, found it impossible (67.9%, N=205, SQ:P2:S3:Q1) and felt insecure (55.3%, N=167, SQ:P2:S3:Q6) to learn without textbooks. CTI5 (L38-39) recalled that "foreign teachers did not use any textbooks and they talked about whatever came to their mind," and a lot of time was wasted on meaningless chatting. Similar expressions can also be found in some students' views (such as in SQ47, SQ100, SQ141, SQ283). To SI7 (L38-41), foreign teachers who based their judgment on their own perceptions, rejected the prescribed textbooks and introduced their own textbooks and handouts, which were not linked to the students' perceptions of their needs. SI30 (L101-106) declared that he was not used to foreign teachers' spontaneous classes. He felt that what he had learned with foreign teachers for two or three years was but odds and ends, randomly scattered because foreign teachers did not use textbooks. Without textbooks, he argued, they did not have a particular purpose in learning.

In the observation of AI9 (L14-15), some foreign teachers were too sure of their teaching methods to adapt them a bit. She (L16-17) reported that her university employed a foreign teacher with a doctoral degree in English literature and two Master degrees in English. There was no doubt about his qualifications. He was recruited to teach English literature at the university to the postgraduate students but she (L17) said, "we feel that his teaching was a total failure." She (31-35) explained,

> He was not serious in teaching English literature. Neither did he offer his views nor did he introduce important literary schools, important literary works, and literary features of major writers. Students felt that he gave them just facts. It is not enough for postgraduate students to know some facts about a string of writers and their works. Students felt they could learn nothing from him, and they wanted something else. But his attitude towards the feedback was "that's very important. How can you do anything without knowing the facts" [Original in English].

Sne (18-25) noted that when the teacher was asked to teach thesis writing to the postgraduate students, he asked them to write anything. The students felt disoriented and frustrated. They were unhappy with his teaching and lodged their complaints with the department dean who asked them to talk directly to the teacher. The teacher's attitude towards the students was rude, and he cried, "I have a PhD. and two master degrees. I don't need students to tell me how to teach" [Original in English] (L28-29). No ground was left for any reconciliation and compromise. He felt he was doing an excellent job, but the students and the administrators viewed his teaching differently.

The discussion in this subsection has focused on the teacher-student tensions derived from foreign teachers' insistence on not using the prescribed textbooks for their teaching, and from their perceived overuse of particular teaching techniques -- the interactive approach, and mechanical reading as part of this approach -- which the students did not appreciate. The following subsection will deal with a third recurrent theme in foreign teachers' teaching -- incoherence and lack of systematicity.

4.3.2.4 Foreign Teachers' Unsystematic Teaching Styles

The third recurrent theme involving foreign teachers' ineffective teaching is that foreign teachers' teaching is not coherent and systematic. The survey data show that the longer the students are exposed to foreign teachers, the more the Chinese students feel that foreign teachers' teaching is unsystematic (see Table 4-1).

Most foreign teachers' teaching is unsystematic. Table 4-1

Length of Exposure	Year 1 N=52[8]	Year 2 N=81	Year 3 N=96	Year 4 N=62
Percentage (Agree, Strongly Agree)	27.0%	43.2%	43.7%	79.0%

---

[8] The total number of the respondents in the same year.

It seemed to AI15 (L43-47) that foreign teachers could have played a better role in their teaching because their presence already helped to create a different classroom culture, but in effect, their teaching was hampered by their unplanned and unsystematic teaching which largely disappointed the students. Her remark implies that for her, unplanned and unsystematic teaching is associated with a teacher's irresponsible attitude towards teaching. In the view of CTI5 (L28-39), some foreign teachers never prepared their lessons, and so in the classroom, they did not know what to do, or very often they did something idiosyncratic. Consequently, she concluded, their teaching was unplanned, unsystematic, disorganised, and a waste of students' time.

CTQ10 (P5:L11) stressed that Chinese students' unappreciative attitude towards foreign teachers was the consequence of foreign teachers' unsystematic teaching. CTI12 (L29-31) explained that he could not learn much in his student days because foreign teachers were unsystematic in their teaching. He said unsystematic teaching, which seemed messily organised, could not help students understand and accept the knowledge transmitted, especially to students who lacked an ability to learn to understand the disorganised teaching content.

One of the foreign teachers (FTI11, L94-106) also expressed his great concern about a systematic approach to teaching conversational English. He felt it a dilemma in teaching: if he adopted a systematic approach, the instruction might seem to be dull; if he went through an interesting approach by coming up with different activities and different situations and different dialogues, there might be no systematicity in the approach. He had difficulties maintaining a balance. Apart from that, in the use of the interactive approach, it would hard for the teacher to measure the students' achievements with an exam.

Other foreign teachers, however, expressed their strong disagreement with the view that their teaching was unsystematic and disorganised. FTI12 (L143-152) offered the following counter-argument,

> Well, I would agree that maybe in conversation classes, we are less systematic than the Chinese teachers. My impression of the teachers, the foreign teachers at this school, is that we are very systematic, in our writing classes, in our literature classes, and other such classes, so that students all know what I am going to cover next week. They all know the directions we are going now and know it builds on what we have been accomplishing. And we have textbooks in conversation that I use about maybe

> half of the time. But in conversation class, I don't feel its important to be going systematically one step, next step, next step, but primarily just to get them thinking, interacting, using English. So I would agree maybe we are a bit less systematic in conversation, at least I am. I am not sure about some other teachers. And the advantages of that I think is that's spontaneous to the class.

He seemed to agree that spontaneity in communicative interaction is more important than pre-planned and systematically lock-step teaching. To FTI12 (L61-62), well-structured and systematic teaching was not important because structures could "inhibit the communication" and spontaneity. The purpose of such teaching, he argued, was to change Chinese students' rote memorisation habits. To him, verbal participation was more important than rote memorisation.

The Chinese students, like the Chinese teachers, held a different view from foreign teachers. They expected to learn the language in a systematic and coherent way. To their disappointment, SQ25 (P4:L2-3) complained, a large majority of foreign teachers' teaching lacked systematicity. Unsystematic and disorganised teaching could not facilitate students' learning and complaints, therefore, were likely to arise (SI30, SQ8, SQ45, SQ47, SQ93, SQ95, SQ99, SQ122). SQ274 (P4:L9-13) wrote,

> I do not like foreign teachers who are perfunctory and unplanned in their teaching. They do not have a set of systematic teaching methods. Their classes are disorganised. They kill their time by teaching. Students have learned absolutely nothing from them. Their classes have become a sanctuary for students to kill their time.

SI7 (L31-33) commented that foreign teachers were rarely serious with their teaching and with their classroom organisations, and in class, they talked randomly, without a purpose in mind. The view is supported by SI9 (L93-100) who felt that foreign teachers' classes were utterly disorganised. She said that students were exhausted and did not know what the teachers were doing, and they had learned almost nothing because what was taught was unsystematic.

In sum, it was pointed out that foreign teachers' teaching was claimed to be incoherent and unsystematic although foreign teachers held a different view. To the foreign teachers, interactive spontaneity in oral or other language classes was more important than systematic lectures. The allegedly unsystematic teaching, however, was unacceptable to the Chinese students and thus counterproductive to learning. The discussion now leads to the discussion of Chinese students' perceptions of foreign teachers' attitudes towards teaching.

4.3.2.5 Foreign Teachers' Irresponsible Attitudes Towards Teaching

As can be seen from the previous discussion, foreign teachers' teaching methods are often associated with irresponsibility in the perceptions of the Chinese students and teachers. Foreign teachers' irresponsible attitude towards teaching is the fourth recurrent theme identified in the survey.

According to AI15 (L42), in her classroom observations, irresponsible foreign teachers were not few in number. She (L41-47) reported,

> Some foreign teachers are totally irresponsible. When they teach, they talk randomly for a while, sing some songs, tell some stories, and take students to walk around the campus. This is teaching! Foreign teachers like this are not few in number. Students refuse to attend their lessons. They do not like their lessons. The problem is getting even worse.

Her statement was supported by many respondents to the questionnaires. CTQ11 (P5:L8-10) attributed the lesser achievement of foreign teachers' teaching largely to their irresponsible attitudes towards teaching. Such attitudes, according to CTQ33 (P5:L10-11), led to ineffective classroom management, and to poor teaching results. The attitudes might be derived from some foreign teachers' motivation for going to China. According to CTQ6 (P5:L4), some foreign teachers did not go to China to teach, but to travel, and to spend their holidays at the expense of the Chinese hospitality. Without any commitment to teaching, their teaching outcomes could not be as effective as expected, and to the Chinese students, their teaching was a waste of time and human resources (CTQ7, SQ144, SQ145).

It was not easy to discern foreign teachers' motivations for going to China. In addition, the lack of the screening procedures in the selection (CTI8) and the management practice on the part of the Chinese administrators might have contributed, to some extent, to the recruitment of irresponsible teachers (CTQ11, P5:L7-10).

Some foreign teachers' teaching techniques, when put into practice, are interpreted as irresponsible. SI3 (L43-53) felt her utmost disappointment when the teacher refused to mark what the students had written. She felt that the foreign teacher was cheating the students because the teacher, without marking, just wrote "Excellent" as a comment on her writing which she herself did not see any value in. The following remark by the foreign teacher, FTI6 (L144-149), might be a good explanation of the philosophy of such teaching techniques.

> I have them write journals and I give them an opportunity to express themselves. We were told several years ago that when students write journals, even if you don't correct their writing, they actually will improve their writing as they continue to do that. And we have seen the improvement even, even if we don't correct it, you know. And also it helps us to understand what's their thinking and how they feel about things.

The teacher's statement implies that students were given much freedom in writing. The teacher's intention was to get them to write, and it was her belief that constant writing could finally improve their writing abilities, even without any correction. A graduate (CTI5, L30-32) had been taught by the foreign teacher commented that in the writing class, she asked the students to write compositions without any purpose in mind, and they insisted on students' writing for the sake of writing. She (L38-39) complained that the foreign teacher never prepared her lessons, and so in the classroom, she did not know what to do, or very often she did something at will. Views that foreign teachers were irresponsible and perfunctory in their teaching were also expressed by many other students (SQ13, SQ25, SQ125, SQ129, SQ134).

Foreign teachers' irresponsible behaviour, as perceived by the Chinese students, was demonstrated in foreign teachers' short-changing students' class time -- wasting students' time. SI29 (L125-131) described a foreign teacher's class in the following account. The foreign teacher was teaching oral English. Every time in the class,[9] he would make everybody laugh with some witty jokes. When the class proceeded for a short while, he let students take a long rest, then resumed his class for a short while, and always dismissed the class half an hour earlier. The students felt unhappy to see the foreign teacher short-change the lessons. She claimed that such behaviour was very common among foreign teachers. SI24 (L101-110) gave a similar report, saying that he did not like the foreign teachers who were often late for class and then dismissed the class early.

Foreign teachers' classes were found to be relaxing and pleasurable (CTQ11), to be a time for both teachers and students to kill time (SQ145, SQ94). Learning was considered secondary to leisure (SQ195). It was not joy in learning, but joy in not having any pressure or demand on learning that the foreign teachers were striving for (SQ134). Implicit in the use of such a teaching technique was the motive on the part of the foreign teachers to please the students rather than to teach as the Chinese regard teaching (SQ127). CTI7 (L32-34) felt that she could not learn anything from foreign teachers because, to her, foreign teachers' classes were a time for students to relax, to exchange views with one another, and most importantly, to kill time. Foreign teachers' irresponsible, purposeless teaching had wasted a lot of students' precious time, and most importantly, had betrayed the students' previously held trust (SQ260, P4:L2-7; SQ286, P4:L6-9). The situation, SQ134 cautioned, was getting even worse.

In summary, some foreign teachers' irresponsible attitudes towards teaching have caused concerns of the Chinese administrators, teachers and students. These attitudes, it was suspected, were derived from some foreign teachers' motivation for going to China and motivation for undertaking teaching the language as a profession. In the Chinese perception, some teaching techniques employed by foreign teachers were associated with a sense of irresponsibility.

To sum up, this section has examined the vast disparities in expectations between the perceptions of the Chinese students, teachers, administrators, and those of the foreign teachers. These discrepancies may have caused teacher-student tensions. The major conflict lies in foreign teachers' perceived ineffectiveness and cultural incompatibility of the communicative teaching approaches used by foreign teachers. The research findings indicate that the students' negative response is largely, though not solely, reflected in four recurrently converging themes: pedagogical inappropriateness, rigid teaching styles, unsystematic and incoherent teaching, and foreign teachers' irresponsible attitudes towards teaching. Foreign teachers' teaching, emphasising the importance of interactive classroom activities in oral, reading and literature classes, was perceived to be inappropriate to the students' existing level of language proficiency and to their felt needs. Foreign teachers' forceful and rigorous imposition of their educational model onto the students and their overuse of their particular teaching approaches, such as discussions, debates, spontaneous interaction, cooperative learning, peer tutoring, seem to be subversive and counterproductive to learning. Foreign teachers' teaching, overly unsystematic, incoherent, and rigid, has met strong resistance from the students. Some foreign teachers' irresponsible attitudes aggravated the teacher-student clashes.

---

[9] In China, a two-hour period of class is common in most tertiary institutions.

4.4 Teacher-Student Relationships

Teacher-students relationships are believed to play an important role in the classroom culture. This section will examine a number of variables affecting teacher-student relationships. I will point out that foreign teachers' perceived condescending, unfriendly attitudes towards Chinese students, their inappropriate classroom behaviours and unacceptable teaching activities in the Chinese socio-cultural contexts, all contribute to Chinese students' negative response. Though the reported cases are not very common among foreign teachers, the damage done to the foreign teacher image is devastating. There is also strong evidence that not all foreign teachers are as bad as reported. Some foreign teachers have achieved much in their endeavours.

The teacher-student relationship plays an extremely important role in the success or failure of teaching and learning. Many foreign teachers have realised that without a good rapport with students, it can be very difficult for a teacher to achieve much in teaching. Such a rapport, however, cannot be established without mutual respect and trust. This is especially true for foreign teachers who come from different cultural backgrounds. It seemed to FTI3 (L121-126) that learning could not occur unless a rapport was established because "the Chinese way of learning needs to be based on the good feeling towards the teacher, good interaction, good relationship with the teacher."

Although the Chinese Confucian tradition encourages students to show respect to teachers, FTI12 (L78-82) discovered, "respect in the classroom must be earned." Respect is conditional and mutual. It does not come automatically. He elaborated that Chinese students' respect for the teacher was based on their positive perception of what the teacher had done, but students' frustration, resentment, anger and wrath would build up quickly "if they sensed that the teacher was lazy, that the teacher was unprepared, and that the teacher did not know what he or she was talking about." His remark indicates that the student's perceptions of the teacher's teaching competence, quality and effectiveness of teaching, classroom behaviour and social conduct are all important factors contributing to the teacher-student relationship.

FTI3 was certain that Chinese students had their ways of learning and "they were appreciative of their learning styles" (L132), but their eagerness to learn enabled their learning styles to become compatible with foreign teachers' teaching if a rapport was established. In addition, in his view, foreign teachers' classroom behaviour was very important in establishing such a rapport. He observed that the Chinese students' curiosity about foreign teachers' teaching provided an advantage for foreign teachers to build a very good rapport with the Chinese students, but it was not easy to gain the students' trust in that both teachers and students hold different values, beliefs, and assumptions about teaching, learning, and teacher-student relationships.

4.4.1 Problematic Teacher-Student Relationships

A large majority of foreign teachers (91.7%, FTQ:P2:S2:Q3) believe that they have established a very good rapport with the Chinese students. The Chinese students, however, had a different interpretation. SI13 (111-114) described the teacher-student relationship as follows:

> The relationship between Chinese students and foreign teachers is certainly very remote. The teachers come to lecture, and we listen. If they make us laugh, we laugh. After class, we do not seem to know each other.

SI3 (L64-67) depicted the relationship "superficially harmonious". The superficiality may have resulted from Chinese traditional respect for teachers and the unsatisfactory results in the students' negative perceptions of foreign teachers' teaching and classroom conducts. SI9 (L241-245) commented that

> In our class, the relationship between students and foreign teachers is superficially good. It can only be described as superficially good. Students are extremely unhappy with some foreign teachers' strong wills. But we feel that we have to let it go because they are teachers after all and we must respect them.... We try to show our respect, but in our hearts, we are utterly disappointed.

The remark indicates that the students, unhappy with foreign teachers' teaching, influenced by Chinese communication styles and awed by the teachers' power, pretend to maintain a superficially harmonious relationship to cover up the teacher-student discord.

Foreign teachers also use such a cover-up to maintain the teacher-student relationship. SI3 (L149-158) had an impression that foreign teachers, knowing very well the *guanxi* -- interpersonal patterns in Chinese culture, and the *mianzi* -- face, appeared to be insincere towards their Chinese students. SI2 (L159-162) added that they seemed to sweeten their remarks by saying "Everyone is very smart" (original in English), intentionally hiding the problems. SI2 felt that rather than encouraging students to conquer their learning difficulties, foreign teachers seemed to try to smooth the teacher-student relationship by giving students profuse "candies" -- wonderful remarks. SI1 (L145-146) emphasised that such a motive was more detrimental to their learning than pointing out their shortcomings although the latter might be embarrassing. She (L146-148) argued,

> We do not need praise. We need something practical. We need the teacher to comment on or criticise our weakness and help us to overcome it. Such help is essential for us to improve our learning.

In the opinion of SI7 (L101-105), some foreign teachers, out of impure motives, gave students very high scores, regardless of the quality of the work and the differences in students' performance. She said that in the writing class, as long as the students handed in their pieces of writing, the foreign teacher always gave them high scores, up to 100, without ever bothering to have a look at what was written, deliberately creating an impression to the administrators and the students that they were excellent teachers and had achieved remarkable results in their teaching. SI39 (L240) reported that the foreign teacher in her class gave everyone 100 in the final examination (also SI7, L105), which frustrated the departmental administrators. Nowhere in the world could it be found that all students in one class could write something of equal quality, without any flaws, but this occurred with foreign teachers in this province. She said the departmental administrators nullified all the scores and organised another test. The teacher's motives turned the teacher image into a negative one and the student's trust towards the teacher changed into distrust and resentment.

4.4.2 Foreign Teachers' Patronising Attitudes

In spite of some foreign teachers' espoused "egalitarianism" which promoted a view of teachers and students being equal in the classroom (FTI4), foreign teachers' authority, manifest in their accorded privileges and special status, coupled with their language superiority, still gave students an impression that foreign teachers were unapproachable. Such a perception resulted in students feeling that foreign teachers patronised them.

Foreign teachers' patronising attitudes, as was perceived so, became a frequent topic in the interviews and the questionnaires. CTI8 (L57-59), a professor in a university, maintained that 70-80% of foreign teachers were very condescending and too proud of themselves. This kind of attitude, he reasoned, might be caused by the fact that all foreign teachers were native speakers from developed countries. They therefore might have formed a misconception that they were the only ones that could teach the language, and some were perceived to have assumed haughty airs.

In the view of AI9 (L88-91), most foreign teachers, with condescending attitudes and racial prejudice against the Chinese, usually failed to communicate effectively with the administrators whom they might look down upon, lacked enthusiasm in teaching, and never bothered to explore possible alternatives to adapt their teaching to the needs of the students who often were the targets of their blame. Her view was shared by CTI9 who mentioned that her student days were overshadowed by foreign teachers' pride which, she said, most Chinese students could not tolerate. She (L1-3) recalled that a foreign teacher in his teaching repeatedly emphasised that nothing in China could be compared to Britain, "the British apples are absolutely much better than yours. You can never have such really big apples in China." The British teacher's statement might contain some truth, but it hurt the students' national pride.

In the observation of SI27 (L88-93), some foreign teachers were racially prejudiced and arrogant, always thinking they were terrific and therefore assuming a patronising attitude towards the students. SI12 (L21-24) sensed that some foreign teachers, though not directly voicing their strong criticism of China, held their condescending, chauvinist, and racially discriminatory attitudes towards Chinese students. Feeling deeply hurt, SQ203 (P4:L5-9) wrote,

> While boasting about their own countries, these foreign teachers blindly debase China. We acknowledge China's realities, but we do not want foreigners to point their fingers at us. I hope foreign teachers are not prejudiced against the Chinese students. They are our teachers, and they should respect us, and in return, we will respect them more.

SQ32 (P4:L4) felt dissatisfied with the foreign teachers whom he/she viewed as prejudiced against and fault-finding with the Chinese students. SQ122 (P4:L6) felt unhappy with foreign teachers who were strongly opinionated. Foreign teachers' arrogance, racist views, and their unfriendly attitudes all came under the fire from the students (SQ5, SQ42, SQ135, SQ141, SQ197, SQ270). SQ129 (P4:L4-5) commented, "I don't like foreign teachers who are irresponsible in their teaching, hold condescending attitudes and racial prejudices, refuse to communicate with the students, and try by every means to impose their will on the students." SQ195 (P4:L5-6) was unhappy to see time wasted by foreign teachers boasting about the West. It seemed incomprehensible to

SQ128 (P4:L8-9) that some foreign teachers lacked very basic teaching competence and yet held a condescending attitude. AI11 (L150-154) argued that some foreign teachers used the classroom to enlarge the good side of their societies and the weak side of the Chinese society, which seriously hurt Chinese students' esteem, and thus increased anti-foreign-teacher sentiment.

To SI9 (L82-92), foreign teachers did not behave like exemplars for the Chinese students in terms of traditional Chinese understanding. She said that as these teachers came from developed countries, they appeared to be very arrogant. It was impossible, she argued, to develop a close rapport between students and teachers when the teachers thought themselves to be superior and declined to treat students with respect.

4.4.3 Foreign Teachers' Perceived Unfriendly Attitudes

The attitudes of foreign teachers towards the students are extremely important in establishing the teacher-student relationship in the Chinese social milieu. How the students interpret the teacher's remarks, classroom and social behaviours can also seriously affect the relationship. Some foreign teachers' attitudes towards the students have caused serious concerns for Chinese administrators, teachers, students, and even foreign teachers themselves.

Some foreign teachers, AI10 (L25-30) said, always held a condescending attitude towards their Chinese colleagues and students, thinking that they were the holders of the keys to Western knowledge, while the Chinese were but passive recipients of the knowledge, with a view that they were always correct because they were native speakers. He expressed his anger about the ineffectiveness of their teaching and the unfriendly attitudes of foreign teachers in his department.

Realising that their teaching was not appreciated, some foreign teachers listened to students' comments and suggestions. But other foreign teachers, assuming a high position as authorities, were not inclined to view students' feedback in a positive light and, therefore, they could not make positive achievements in their teaching (CTQ21). According to the report by CTI6 (L76-79), when she was a student, the whole class was unhappy with the foreign teacher's lessons and they voiced their concerns directly to the teacher. But to their utter surprise, the teacher flew into a rage and the teacher-student conflicts were exacerbated. If he could not accept students' opinions, suggestions, and comment, she argued, he could have explained this to them rather than use the teacher's power to make the students comply. She believed that it was the honour and authority granted to foreign teachers in China that had prevented them from listening to students' views and comments.

SI9 (L154-162) remembered that when she was a few seconds late for the class, the teacher, seeing her rushing in, shut the door, not allowing her to go in. She interpreted his behaviour as an insult to her.

Some foreign teachers' classroom behaviour did not seem compatible with their professional identity. SI22 (L110-117) felt disappointed at one foreign teacher's uncivilised remark to the students. He said that at one time the foreign teacher got very angry with the students, and the foreign teacher shouted at them: "Shit of you" (original in English). It was not known what had caused the teacher's anger, but the remark was very hurtful to the students. The remark could have aroused a tremendous wrath among the students if they had known the meaning, but fortunately, SI22 said, he was the only one who understood the meaning. His traditional sense of respect for the teacher, however, prevailed over his wrath.

Some Chinese students, upset by some foreign teachers' unfriendly attitudes, called for the teachers' sympathy. SQ26 (P4:1-8) wrote,

> They are foreigners after all. They do not know at all where our weaknesses lie and what assistance we need most.... They are usually too rigorous to allow students to make any errors. We understand this is their tradition. But they are teaching Chinese students. Why don't they have any sympathy for us? In sum, I cannot learn anything in their lessons. Just as there are language barriers between us, there are barriers in our communications too.

When their tolerance reached its limit, the students usually took collective action against the unfriendly teachers. FTI3 (L94-103) reported a case where the foreign teacher was not tolerated and the students took drastic measures to address the problem:

> I saw this happen where initially the foreign teacher was giving a class, an undergraduate BA class. And initially, his attendance was good, but that teacher was not trying to adjust to, was not friendly, did not try to adjust to the needs of the class. And I gradually saw there was absenteeism from that class. Students were not coming.... In some cases, that one particular teacher was very insulting to the students. And in the end the students shut the door and wouldn't let him come in. And it was his fault. He was insulting. He did not try to understand the students, and he did not have a rapport with them. And gradually communication broke down altogether.

When the conflicts between the foreign teachers the Chinese students grew too intense, administrative measures were needed to reduce tensions. AI13 (L97-107) reported that his university fired an American teacher, a bilingual -- English and Mandarin -- with a doctoral degree in Chinese history. His lessons were not welcomed by the students, and neither were his hostile attitudes towards them. While he was teaching, he chain-smoked cigars in the classroom, with his feet upon the podium. When the students coughed because of the heavy smoke, he ordered them not to cough, or they had to get out of the classroom. He taught four classes. None of the students liked his lessons and his arrogant personality. The students felt they were rudely treated. Their feelings were hurt, and their esteem destroyed. The department dean approached him in a hope of finding a possible solution to the problem, but, AI13 said, the teacher's arrogance made him turn down all the possible solutions.

The teacher-student relationship could also be affected by foreign teachers' opinions on certain politically sensitive topics in classroom discussions, the topics that were interpreted by the Chinese as an unfriendly gesture (AI7, AI8, AI10, AI13). Some Chinese administrators (AI7, AI8) complained that a few foreign teachers used the classroom to instigate students' anti-government feelings by making students discuss China's social issues, such as birth control, freedom of speech, freedom of sex, and human rights. AI8 (L114-116) reiterated his idea that foreign teachers were employed to teach the subject courses, not to make comments on Chinese policies. If the teaching of the English language became the discussion of the issues of Chinese internal affairs, he stressed, the value of employing foreign teachers was lost. Some administrators voiced their serious concerns about foreign teachers conducting surveys in the classroom without permission. The content of these surveys was regarded as very disturbing because they, AI7 and AI8 argued, often contained anti-government themes, such as questions concerning students' confidence in the current state leaders, in the Chinese Communist Party, their opinions about and attitudes towards the current government policies.[10] AI7 strongly denounced such anti-China "espionage" activities.

Cultural issues can also affect teacher-student relationships. AI11 (L145-150) explained that in Chinese classrooms, most students were female students. Some foreign teachers, failing to understand the cultural differences and gender issues, disseminated, without precaution, some anti-traditional and anti-cultural ideas such as freedom of sex, pre-marital sex, promiscuous sex, gay and lesbian cultures, which were utterly inappropriate and unacceptable in the Chinese classroom.

4.4.4 Foreign Teachers' Inappropriate Classroom Behaviours

Teachers' classroom behaviours can exert an enormous influence on the teacher-student relationship. The teacher's classroom behaviour is often correlated with teaching outcomes. Students automatically judge a teacher by his/her classroom conduct on the basis of their cultural norms and their expectations. Some foreign teachers' conduct may be perceived as inappropriate to their expectations in the Chinese classroom culture, and consequently it may seriously affect the teacher-student relationship.

Foreign teachers' classroom behaviours are constantly scrutinised by the students. The interpretation of each individual behaviour is based on the students' cultural norms. Tensions may arise when deviations are large. SI25 (L91-96) had a general impression that foreign teachers did not pay enough attention to their classroom behaviour which might be unacceptable to the Chinese students, such as wearing dirty clothes, crossing their legs while sitting or lying prostrate on the podium. SI23 (L16-20) felt that he could not bear some foreign teachers' classroom behaviours because these behaviours deviated too far from what was expected.

Culturally unacceptable classroom behaviours were reported by SI35, SI36, SI37, SI38, SI39 (L156-161). Some foreign teachers were allegedly sluggish (L156) and some behaved like cowboys: pounding the desk (L157), tossing chalk (L158), sitting on the desk (L160), stepping on students' benches with their dirty feet (L161), screaming for no particular reasons in the process of teaching (SI9), whistling, squatting on the podium, and singing songs unrelated to teaching (SI8, SI9, SI10, SI11). Foreign teachers were often accused of not behaving seriously (SI8, SI10, SI11, SI30, SI39). In the classroom, SQ260 (P4:L7-10) complained, foreign teachers behaved so lightly and so casually that it seemed as if they were taking a stroll in a bazaar, suggesting that such classroom behaviour was not aligned with Chinese cultural traditions. SQ5 (P4:L2-5) regretted that foreign teachers had failed to make use of their advantages, that they deliberately made the classroom atmosphere very tense. SI35 (L166) thought that such might be the common classroom behaviour of all foreign teachers. A similar case was also reported in other interviews with foreign teachers. FTI4 (L25-28) observed,

---

[10] Unfortunately, I could not get permission to have access to these surveys. I was told that some of these

> I know one of the teachers who had problems and used to come into the classroom, put his feet on the table and eat in front of his students while he was teaching. Personally I find that unacceptable. But in China, this is even, obviously, far more unacceptable.

Some foreign teachers' idiosyncrasy in teaching seemed incompatible with Chinese students' expectations of what a foreign teacher should be. SI8 (L181-197) expressed his resentment towards foreign teachers who wasted students' precious time. He explained that every day the current foreign teacher spent about twenty minutes calling the roll. Having taught for more than half a year but the teacher did not know who was present and who was absent. The account given by SI35 (10:36-38) from another university was even more striking. She said that many of her classmates refused to come to the class because every day in the two-hour class, the foreign teacher would spend almost the entire two hours calling the roll. When I double-checked this with her other classmates, they confirmed the story.

Teaching and assessment are related, but how to assess students' achievements in a way that both the teacher and students are happy with is debatable. Fairness or favouritism is a theme suggested in the survey data. SI27 (L46-49) complained about foreign teachers' favouritism in their assessment of students' achievements.

---

surveys had been intercepted at the customs.

> I feel that foreign teachers base their judgement heavily on their personal impressions. Unlike Chinese teachers who assess the students' achievements in an objective way through standard tests, foreign teachers rely on interviews for the assessment and thus their assessment is based on their impressions. They tend to give very high scores to those they have good impressions of, and they are prejudiced against those they have bad impressions of.

Similar accounts were reported in other interviews. The following quote is taken from Chinese Students Interview No 10 (L249 -254):

> SI38: Foreign teachers assess us by their impressions. If they have a good impression of you, you get high scores.
> SI39: You cannot argue with them. They give you 60, others 90. Such a big difference! You can feel extremely upset.
> SI35: During the test, they ask you to answer two simple questions.
> SI36: Yes, two simple questions.
> SI39: The answer may be "yes" or "no." They give you whatever marks they wish.
> SI37: They do not have any record. They base their judgements on their impressions.

There existed a gap between the teacher's teaching and the student's understandings. CTI9 (L13-19) reported a case in her university. The foreign teacher carefully selected a piece of literature and read it with passion in the class, expecting that the beauty of literary piece might attract students' active response. But the students were sitting there, silent. They might not have understood the meaning of the poem and did not respond quickly as the teacher had expected. The teacher was at a loss, threw the textbook on the podium and walked out of the classroom, crying bitterly. The teacher and the student did not seem to share the same "agenda".

Seeing the classroom norms being violated, students may feel frustrated and respond negatively to the foreign teachers' teaching. CTI3 pointed out that students' failure to appreciate the foreign teachers' classroom behaviour could seriously affect their learning. She observed (L114-117).

> The students can feel frustrated in the classes taught by foreign teachers who fail to quickly adapt themselves to different cultural norms. The reward for the teachers' efforts and their conscientious involvement in teaching is nothing but hostility.

Chinese students often expect their foreign teachers to behave like Chinese teachers. They may feel unhappy with deviations. On the other hand, foreign teachers also expected the students to act as they expected. Violation of classroom norms of the respective cultures can create teacher-student tension. SI12 (L100-104) pointed out that sometimes students who were late for the class were penalised by being made to stand outside the classroom door, or they were rudely driven out of the classroom, depriving them of the right to attend the lessons. When the foreign teacher's class was not liked, student's absenteeism was a serious headache for the teacher. However, if more students were absent, the whole class would stop as a collective penalty.

In their teaching, foreign teachers tend to create an active learning atmosphere. But the extent of the activeness can be problematic in cross-cultural transactions. CTI3 (L150-155) said that her university employed an American teacher whose teaching was interpreted as too "mad" for the students to tolerate. The students felt that attending his lessons was a heavy burden. The teacher's extrovert behaviour clashed with the students' quiet classroom personalities. Similar reports can be found in some other universities where students could not accept foreign teachers' overly active classroom behaviours. SI14 (L88-92) held that foreign teachers emphasised an active classroom atmosphere by using words and gestures in an attempt to make students laugh, but these words and gestures were sometimes not culturally appropriate. She was sure that the purpose was but to please, without any meaning at all. She (L102-104) said that the students could not find any relevance in the jokes and chatting to what they expected to learn. SI13 (L186-188) agreed that such a meaninglessly active classroom atmosphere, if over-emphasised, would give students an impression that foreign teachers were not serious enough and lacked a sense of responsibility. She added that some foreign teachers would assume that students could learn better while learning with joy, and consequently they would turn the classroom into a place for meaningless interactive activities. The students, however, did not appreciate such classes.

Foreign teachers were perceived as preoccupied with group work and discussions, focusing their attention on those who could speak better English, but forgetting those who could not express themselves well (SI39, SI40). SI35 (L258-259) reported that "we have been taught by five foreign teachers already, but some of our classmates have never spoken a word with them." These teaching activities, which favoured only a limited few, often failed to attend to the interests of a large majority of the class. It seemed to SQ260 that the foreign teacher was monopolised by a few students, while many others were sidelined in the classroom activities. SQ262 noticed that such a monopoly was devastating to the enthusiasm the self-esteem of those who were marginalised. SQ262 felt wrathful because the male foreign teacher showered his favouritism exclusively on the beautiful girls while the males and other ordinary female students were forgotten.

Some foreign teachers try to distance themselves from the students and from other teaching involvement. SQ129 felt that the foreign teachers were unwilling to have contact with the students; they seemed unapproachable. AI8 (L155-162) said that some foreign teachers acted in a business-like way. They taught the hours that they were asked to teach, but they would refuse to involve themselves in other teaching and learning activities and to do anything that was not written in the contracts. He complained that after class, they disappeared immediately and students could not find them at all. It seemed, he argued, that some foreign teachers had intentionally created a very clear teacher-student borderline,

> The relationship is an employer-employee one. They accept the job offer and teach fourteen hours a week. They meet the students in the class session, but after the class, they disappear. They seem not to have any association with the students. They keep a great distance from them. The lack of communication marks a clear borderline between teachers and students. The teacher-student relationship is simplified as such: the teacher comes to teach and the students come to listen.

Such a demarcation creates potential teacher-student conflicts and misunderstandings. It seems to be reasonable for foreign teachers to accomplish the contractual requirements, leaving the rest of the space and time for their own privacy "after hours" from a Western perspective, rather than getting involved in the activities they are not required to participate in. For the Chinese administrators and students, however, teaching takes place both in and outside the classroom. Cross-cultural misunderstandings are bound to occur when all participants have different interpretative systems.

4.4.5 Proselytisation

One issue brought up during the interviews was Christian proselytism, which seemed to have also affected the teacher-student relationships. Some foreign teachers go to China, fully sponsored by some religious bodies in their own country (FTI1). To them, the purpose of teaching English in China is but a cover for religious activities (AI8). Chinese administrators, Chinese teachers, students, and foreign teachers themselves expressed their strong resentment about such religious penetration under the guise of teaching.[11]

SI27 (L88-93) observed that some foreign teachers made every effort to propagate their religious ideas. SQ141 (P4:L8) reported that he/she hated the foreign teachers who proselytised by taking advantage of the teaching position. A Chinese teacher (CTI4:L56-60) recalled what happened in her student days,

> The foreign couple treated us well. They arranged for us to have parties in their apartment every Friday afternoon. But the activities were all tinged with Christianity. Many students did not recognise the purposes behind these activities. Not until I began to teach English did I realise that they tried to develop a very good teacher-student rapport in order to propagate their Christian ideas. Many foreign teachers have such a propensity.

Foreign teachers' attempts to proselytise have also caught the attention of some other foreign teachers in China. A foreign teacher (FTQ, Pilot 4:P5:L1-8) wrote,

> *I believe strongly that too many foreign English teachers in China are neither trained nor experienced in teaching nor qualified to* [emphasis in original] teach English as a foreign language. Their motives for being in China seem to be diverse -- many are Christian missionaries. Their claim to be teachers of English to Chinese students degrades the standing of teaching as a skilled and honourable profession, and short

---

[11] A few months after this survey, I was informed that one Foreign Expert and one Foreign Teacher were expelled from the teaching posts for conducting illegal Christian activities.

> changes their Chinese students who deserve much better than these pretend teachers offer.

FTI1 (L103-108) made a similar discovery and she alerted Chinese host institutions to be watchful when selecting their prospective foreign teachers.

> Missionary teachers are in abundance in the city. The proselytisation goes on. And that should be very closely watched. ... And that can be very very bad for the students because their purpose of being there is not to teach English, but to subversively introduce Christianity. And I think that they should be kicked out on the next boat. That can be a disadvantage for the school.

AI8 (L113-115) argued that the Chinese Constitution guaranteed the freedom of religion, but not the freedom of proselytisation. It seems to me that it is probably not the religion itself that China is afraid of, but the political subversion accompanying religious acts that China fears. AI8 commented that some foreigners used religion as a well disguised means to instigate students' anti-government emotions. AI11 (L163-165) said that it was all right if the teacher explained some religious background related to the text being studied, such as explicating some literary texts that contained Christian ideas. AI7 (L29-30) claimed that foreign teachers' open proselytisation went against the Chinese law and "must be stopped." AI13 (L36-41) maintained,

> Some foreign experts do not understand our government policies and our country's realities. They know nothing about our students. In their teaching, there have been a few unhappy incidents related to religion. In line with Chinese current open-door policies, we are making an endeavour to absorb positive things that are appropriate to China's needs. Taking the advantage of the teaching position to disseminate religious ideas is prohibited by the Chinese government.

It is the intention of the government to employ foreign teachers to help Chinese teachers and students to upgrade the standards of teaching and learning (AI7), but the unintentional effects from Christian penetration can be more detrimental than having no foreign teachers at all.

4.4.6 Womanisation

In the Chinese tradition, teachers hold a sacred position in the society. They are often described as the "engineers of the human soul." Teachers are often regarded as models for others to follow, especially for students. Such a traditional role also applies to foreign teachers. Their behaviour in China is expected to conform to this traditional norm.

Womanising is an unwelcome behaviour, not only in China, but perhaps throughout the world. AI8's (L122-138) account of the incident of a womaniser is as follows. The teacher came from the United States, with a master degree. He was expelled from his post for his misconduct. According to AI8, the teacher "loved" many female students at the same time and treated them all equally as his lovers. Every few days, he would change his targets and make love to other female students. He denied responsibility when the students became pregnant. He used his advantage as a foreign teacher -- a high honour in China -- to prey upon Chinese females, as his sex tools. Although AI8 admitted that the responsibility lay partly on the side of the students, who wished to establish a marital relationship so as to migrate, the foreign teacher had contaminated the "honourable title of Foreign Experts" and he insisted that womanisers, Chinese or foreign, must be penalised and driven away from the teaching platform. AI8 described such indecent conduct as "incestuous." He said,

> As a teacher, when you walk into the classroom, you are assuming a parental role. The Chinese tradition places teachers in such a hierarchical order: the Heaven, the Earth, the Emperor, Parents, and Teachers. Whatever your age may be, whether you are two or three years older than your students, once you walk into the classroom, you are assuming the role of father or mother. If you have irresponsible sexual affairs with your students, this is incestuous. This must be prohibited.

FTI1 (L93-96), who had taught in China for two years, expressed her dissatisfaction with some foreign teachers' misconduct:

> Some of the goings-on with foreign teachers that I observed perhaps left something to be desired in terms of their personal behaviour. Maybe they were womanisers, or heavy alcohol drinkers.

She emphasised that such foreign teachers were few in number. A18 (L92-93) said that in the past eighteen years of employment in his university, only three foreign teachers like this were sacked. Though few in number, they had seriously damaged the foreign teachers' image.

To sum up, in this section, a large range of variables contributing to teacher-student relationships was examined. It was argued that culture had a tremendous impact on students' perceptions of foreign teachers' classroom conduct. The Chinese students were not happy with foreign teachers whose attitudes towards them were condescending and unfriendly, and whose classroom behaviours were inappropriate to the Chinese cultural contexts. The teacher-student relations were hampered, to a large extent, by some foreign teachers' culturally, ethically, and politically unacceptable classroom activities, such as Christian proselytisation and womanisation. It cannot be generalised that these particular individuals represent the totality of all foreign teachers, but the damage done to the foreign teacher image is serious.

4.5 Summary of the Chapter

It was reported in this chapter that foreign teachers had played a dual role in ELT in China. Their involvement was believed to have contributed much to upgrading the English levels of both Chinese teachers and students by introducing Western pedagogical innovations, helping create an authentic English learning environment, motivating Chinese students' learning interests, and promoting students' language and cultural awareness.

The performance of some foreign teachers, however, left much to be desired. The nature of their poor performance was as complicated as there were many foreign teachers, Chinese institutional settings, and administrative roles. The data indicate that foreign teachers came to China with various motivations, not all of them committing themselves seriously to English language teaching. Chinese host institutions, too, had their own varied motivations. Different motivations resulted in different consequences.

Some Chinese administrators, firmly believing in the native-speaker fallacy, guided by their own fundamental concepts about teaching and learning, and attracted by the benefits derived from the employment of foreign teachers, had employed cheaper, unqualified foreigners as teachers or experts, many of whom, apart from their ability to speak the language, did not have any EFL teaching competence. The findings suggest that there were vast discrepancies between Chinese students' expectations and foreign teachers' performances, and that the theoretical perspectives in foreign teachers' teaching methods seemed to contradict Chinese students' fundamental concepts about teaching and learning. Role conflicts and disparities in role expectations stemming from teachers' and students' respective cultural values and beliefs were assumed to have contributed largely to the lesser achievement in foreign teachers' teaching. The findings also indicate that foreign teachers' teaching, using the communicative approach, received a strong negative response identifiable as four problems. Teaching methodologies that were deemed as (1) contextually and culturally inappropriate, (2) inflexible, (3) incoherent and unsystematic, and (4) irresponsible.

Coupled with the teaching ineffectiveness of some foreign teachers was the convergence of strained teacher-student relationships. It was noted that the relationships between foreign teachers and Chinese students was considered superficially harmonious. However, most foreign teachers were perceived to be condescending, and at worst, rude and hostile towards the students. It was also found that some foreign teachers' classroom behaviours and socialisation patterns seemed to run counter to Chinese students' socialisation expectancies, and thus caused serious damages to foreign teachers' image and reputations in China.[12]

The chapter suggests that there exists a gulf between Chinese students and foreign teachers in fundamental values and beliefs about teaching and learning, about teacher-student relationships, and about role expectations. Chapter Five sets out to examine in depths some of the most important underlying causes that have generated miscommunication between foreign teachers and Chinese students.

---

[12] It is worth pointing out at this stage that the abnormal behaviours identified in this section, such as womanisation, smoking in the classroom, having promiscuous sexual relations with students, hostile attitudes towards students, would be equally culturally and socially unacceptable in the same professional contexts in the countries of origin of the foreigners.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONFLICTS IN CONTEXT

This chapter will discuss some important issues raised in Chapter Four that appear to have influenced significantly perceptions of foreign teachers' teaching in the Chinese socio-cultural contexts. The chapter will first discuss the intricacy of intercultural communication and its impact upon foreign teachers' teaching. It will then examine the issues derived from learner needs and difficulties, differences between ESL and EFL, and problems with the discourse of oracy and participation, which underpins the communicative approach adopted by foreign teachers in China. Finally, the chapter looks into the complexity of the problems that have influenced administrative decision-making processes by investigating the impact of the native-speaker-ideal fallacy, pragmatic constraints on employing foreign teachers, the difficulties in interpreting Western credentials, and the Chinese attribution of superiority to foreign teachers. The central argument in this chapter is that, even as agents of change, foreign teachers' role in China is so socially and culturally situated that teaching has to take into account Chinese cultural values, beliefs and educational philosophies, the students' socialisation and cultures of learning. Without acknowledgement of the differences in cultural values that are significant sources of teacher-student conflicts, the Chinese endeavours to bring about positive changes in ELT in China through the introduction of foreign expertise can be seriously hampered.

5.1 Intercultural Communication Perspectives

It was suggested in Chapter Four (4.4) that the culture had a tremendous impact on students' perceptions of foreign teachers' classroom conduct and that some teacher-student relationships were significantly influenced by what they perceived as some foreign teachers' culturally, ethically, and politically unacceptable classroom activities. In this section, I will first review the literature related to the influence of cultural norms on communication modes, and then I will explore some communication issues that affect foreign teachers' teaching and teacher-student relationships, and make explicit some of those issues that have caused cross-cultural miscommunication.

Teachers using a communicative approach should first of all be communicative enough to get their ideas "sold" to the "customers" (Scollon & Scollon, 1995), i.e., they need to adopt a communication style appropriate to the interpretative frameworks of the local socio-cultural norms. Culture influences people's perceptions, cognition, value systems, and ways of communication (O'Sullivan, 1994; Young, 1996; Gudykunst, 1994; Barrow, 1990; Allwright, 1996; Said, 1993). Teachers should be aware of these influences on their own communication modes and those of the students. Even though the expatriate teachers have been brought in as agents of change, changing student culture and the organisational culture of the host institution to fit expatriate teachers' cultural values and assumptions seems to be very difficult (Gudykunst, 1994; Cortazzi, 1990), even when this is partly what China wants (Chen, 1998a). In the diverse cultural discourses, expatriate teachers need to be sensitised to hidden cultural problems which might become a potential impediment to their teaching (Cortazzi, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). Cultural codes, accepted as "regime of truth" (Popkewitz, 1987, p. 4), and therefore normative in nature, set dominant interpretative frames for the perceptions and understanding of events and new information (Young, 1996; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Ryan, 1998; Gadman, 1997; Ellsworth, 1997).

Teachers should be aware of their own communication styles and those of the students. But it is often the case that teachers do not easily recognise their own communication modes and the subsequent consequences, nor do they understand those of the students and the impact these communication modes have upon teaching and learning. For example, some foreign teachers tended to conduct their lessons in an informal way in an attempt to make the lessons more interesting (FTI8), but some students (SI23, SI24) felt uncomfortable with such pedagogical communication, which contradicted their conception of what a teacher should be like. SI23 (L17-20) reported,

> In China, normally teachers stand while lecturing. The foreign teacher, however, did not have any good demeanour. While teaching, he sometimes stood, sometimes sat down [in his chair]. Sometimes, he climbed to the top of the podium, crossing his legs. I know these are but minor things, but I cannot tolerate such classroom behaviours. They were particularly intolerable at the very beginning.

When the students couldn't tolerate the foreign teacher's lessons, the oft-used strategy was to pretend to be sick and ask for leave (SI17,SI18, SI19), but the foreign teacher (FTI10) who taught these students believed that they were sick, without thinking about whether "being sick" had any other meaning.

Communication breakdown, in Arnett's (1986) view, is often caused by polarised communication in which the communicator lacks an ability to correctly perceive his/her own views and the views of others. Polarised communicators show too much concern for themselves and too little concern for the other's interest (Gudykunst, 1994). The polarity puts people into different categories, and communication is based on expectations regarding the role expectations of these categorised identities. Problems arise when others' behaviours do not conform to the role categories. Thurston's (1983,) fieldwork in China has revealed,

> Whether the foreigner is labelled as a tourist, a foreign expert (a teacher), an undergraduate or graduate student, or a foreign scholar will have considerable bearing on what the foreigner is permitted to do. A tourist, after all, is expected to sightsee, a foreign expert to teach, a student to study, and a foreign scholar to conduct research. (p. 24)

Modes of communication are socio-culturally shaped (Gudykunst, 1994; Young, 1996). Cultural differences, therefore, often become potential sources of communication problems (Austin, 1998; Chang, 1996). Hall (1976) distinguishes between high- and low-context communications. High-context communication contains information that is implicitly encoded in the context and low-context communication contains explicit information. In low-context cultures, there are relatively fewer rules or guidelines to prescribe one's behaviour in particular situations than in high-context cultures (Althen, 1984). Ting-Toomey (1989) associates the Chinese culture with a high-context mode which, according to Ho (1996), involves "authoritarian moralism" (p. 161) -- each individual understanding his/her roles and places in a given context. Personal interpretations of his/her assigned roles determine his/her behaviours in the highly formalistic Chinese culture (McCrae et al., 1996). Chinese social beliefs emphasise individual morality that enables people to understand their specific roles and to regulate, in highly flexible ways, their behaviours to comply with role expectations. Such beliefs in individual morality may account for the lack of clear and systematic objectives, and explicit rules in interpersonal communication (Leung, 1996). These characteristics of Chinese modes of communication may present problems for foreign teachers, moving from low-context cultures to high-context cultures, who strongly favour "forward planning" (Price, 1984, p. 121) and clear objectives in their teaching. It is difficult for people from low-context cultures to achieve their pre-set goals where the intentions and goals of the participants are implicit, vague, or missing (McIlwraith, 1996; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Triandis, 1994; Bi, 1994).

Ellsworth (1997) portrays the work of pedagogy as a performative practice in pedagogical communication. Ellsworth believes that there exist potential conflicts in pedagogical communication which "*productively* prevent dialogue from having its intended educational effects" (p.16). The tension, she argues, forms a pedagogy's mode of address -- its positioning of teacher-student relationships embedded in the socio-cultural web. Therefore, whether a desired result can be achieved or not depends much on the nature of teacher-student communications (Levy, et al., 1997; Hofstede, 1986; Young, 1996; Scollon & Scollon, 1995), on student perceptions of teacher behaviours and the meaningfulness of their teaching (Brophy & Good, 1986; Barrow, 1990; Coleman, 1996a). In cross-cultural "confused encounters" (Thorp, 1991), the cultural codes may generate unease, misperceptions and obstacles to mutual understanding, adaptation and accommodation (Ward & Kennedy, 1996).

Different cultural values and differing interpretative discourses brought to the classroom by the teacher and student can be sources of communication problems (CTI1). Foreign teachers and the Chinese students interpret their individual roles according to their own cultural values and the mismatch of expectations deriving from these values may lead to misunderstandings and clashes.

Bridging differences to achieve maximal positive results, through feedback, has often been prioritised in foreign teachers' practice in China. Students' responses are expected to be able to reflect students' expectations and desires. But the reliability of the feedback can be questioned in cross-cultural communication. Cultural misunderstandings often present an obstacle in interpreting the feedback itself.

FTI13 (L214-225) reported using students' journals to get feedback about foreign teachers' teaching in the department. His confidence was reassured by the positive feedback from the students and he was given an impression that foreign teachers' teaching in the department was highly appreciated by the students because the response in the journals did not contain anything negative. He was so sure of his success that he vowed to leave the teaching profession if 10% of the students in the department would say that they could not learn much from the foreign teachers. He said that he had recognised the problems in other institutions where foreign teachers' teaching was not welcomed by the students, but he was absolutely sure this was not the case in his department where every foreign teacher was a devoted professional.

Yet, from the same institution, the students' views about foreign teachers' teaching from both the questionnaires and interviews in this survey differed widely from his own perception: 36.3% of students were disappointed with foreign teachers' teaching; 24.5% felt their teaching was a waste of time; 45.1% believed that their teaching was not up to their expectations. There existed a mismatch between his perceptions and the perceptions of the students[1] . This foreign teacher, like many others, saw only the tip of the iceberg,

---

[1] The responses of the students from the university where the foreign teacher was working were as follows

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Q5 Foreign teachers' teaching is disappointing.	9.8%	26.5%	21.6%	34.3%	7.8%
Q6 Foreign teachers' classes are a waste of time and energy.	8.8%	15.7%	21.6%	38.2%	15.7%
Q9 The more we expect from foreign teachers, the more we feel disappointed.	15.7%	29.4%	23.5%	30.4%	1.0%

but failed to see the material below the surface -- cultural implications involved in interpersonal communication patterns. He failed to obtain reliable information from the students' journals because the students, possibly having realised that their feedback might bring about reprisal from the teachers, especially when the people responding could be identified, had not provided any negative response.

In a collectivist society, like China, security, duty, harmony, and mutual face-saving in interpersonal relationships are emphasised so that in socialisation, it is uncommon for the collectivists to provide feedback about undesirable behaviours that might hurt the other party (Triandis, 1994). Though they may feel extremely uncomfortable with some behaviours that may have broken the local protocols, they tend to act in ways inconsistent with their own attitudes in order to avoid conflicts by pretending not to have observed the violation (Hui & Triandis, 1986; Scollon & Scollon, 1995). The Confucian legacy of consideration and hospitality for others has led to the development of indirect communication patterns to preserve interpersonal harmony (Yum, 1988). Seeking harmony is of primary importance in the self's relational development and interpersonal communication (Gao et al., 1996). As a fundamental groundwork of interpersonal philosophy, face-saving strategies are used "to facilitate (or, alternatively, to hinder) interpersonal activities, and even to solve (or, alternatively, to prevent solution of) interpersonal problems" (Chang & Holt, 1994, p. 97).

By comparing social appropriateness in China and England, Gudykunst et al. (1996) have found that the Chinese pay more attention to other's status characteristics than the English. Chinese students, fully aware of teacher authority, and tend to employ conflict-avoidance, socialising techniques even though they may object to some foreign teachers' teaching techniques and classroom behaviours. The students are making sure that they behave within their role boundary. When they really feel they cannot tolerate what is being taught or the teacher's behaviour, they may find excuses to absent themselves from the class, rather than to tell the teacher how they feel. Absenteeism is not uncommon in foreign teachers' classes (Turner-Gottschang & Reed, 1987; Orton, 1990). Absenteeism and the excuse of being sick are often signs of resistance to teaching. This communication style, however, is rarely noticed by foreign teachers. FTI9 (L131-132) was surprised that "there are a lot of students who are apparently sick." He failed to realise that learner resistance had already begun to build up while he was being provided with very positive feedback about his teaching (L28).

In a recent Sino-British Council Project, Wang and Seth (1998) report that in mutual classroom observations, Chinese teachers generally provided positive comments on foreign teachers' classroom performance. They suggest that the positive feedback did not necessarily mean the performance was a success because foreign teachers were regarded as authorities on the language and Chinese colleagues would refrain from any "daring endeavour" to offer any negative feedback in front of these teachers "with little teaching background" (p. 210). Such a high-context cultural practice, not hypocritical in any sense within the cultural framework, can easily give foreign teachers false perceptions about their teaching. Consequently, their teaching performance can be sustained without teachers' knowing the reactions they create.

Foreign teachers' communication styles and their interpretative frameworks are also affected by specific cultural mindsets that make communication problematic. As the data have shown, some foreign teachers made attempts to engage in dialogue with the Chinese students (CT3) to identify the real sources of the problems and address them. In spite of their sincerity and "neutral" attitude or tone of voice, the foreign teachers, such as FTI5, FTI10 and FTI13, probably failed to achieve their goals because dialogue itself is tinged with power relations, role prescriptions and expectations in the process of negotiations, meaning-making and interpretations. Teachers and students seem to be "naturally" placed in a network, knowing each other's positions and imaginary boundaries. The teacher-initiated, "democratic" dialogue (Chang, 1996, p. 47), undertaken in an asymmetrical relationship, is the "postal principle" in communication in which the dialogue is planned, initiated, manipulated by the teacher according to his/her own map, which guides students to deliver the message to the "address" marked by the teacher. In such a mode of communication, students are expected to communicate in a closed circuit within the teacher's "pre-mapped territory" (Ellsworth, 1997, p. 84). In Ellsworth's view, the dialogue discourse fails to acknowledge cultural differences, social and political relations, realities, meanings, intentions, perceptions, cognition, and desires of the participants. This view is supported by SI37 (L117-119) and SI39 (L122-123), who reported that the foreign teacher was eager to engage in dialogue with the students and the students were equally eager to voice their views, but the teacher never took their views into consideration and continued his teaching as usual.

It is not my argument that foreign teachers should make attempts to address *all* the concerns of the students and fulfil *all* their expectations. In fact, teacher-student conflicts exist, more or less, in any educational context. As long as power is unevenly distributed, conflicts become inevitable. How to minimise the conflicts and how to bridge the gap between teachers' intentions and students' interpretations becomes a critical issue to foreign teachers in China. However, teachers need to have power to implement pedagogical requirements and to bring about the desired conceptual change. Teachers' professional training and teaching experiences will allow them to make informed choices in planning, instruction, and assessment in relation to the goals of the institution. Pleasing the students by giving up their teaching principles is a professionally irresponsible attitude, and teaching without taking into consideration the students' needs and expectations is equally unacceptable (Wu, 1983a, 1983b). Striking a balance requires teachers' intuition, professional judgements, and sociocultural knowledge.

Teachers' classroom behaviours are constantly under the scrutiny of students on the basis of students' cultural norms. Teachers' perceived "inappropriate" behaviours may lead to negative responses from the students. FTI9 (L55-57) described his classroom episodes as follows:

> I have tried, attempted to make classes interesting. I turned to being an actor at times. I quite often do foolish things, which I designed to get the students to realise I am human, to make them laugh, to get them to talk to you.

His self-mockery, which might be interesting for the students to watch, might not communicate the intended message to the students, who might interpret such classroom behaviour as improper demeanour in a cultural context where teachers are held as models. Many Chinese students were struck by foreign teachers' casualness of personal presentation in the classroom, such as speech, dress or postures. Some felt uncomfortable or even insulted when foreign teachers, while teaching, sat on the podium, crossed their legs, stepped on students' desks, slouched down in chairs, leaned on walls or furniture, wore dirty or worn-out clothes, whistled in the process of teaching, tossed the chalk, chewed chewing-gum, cried out loudly without obvious reason, smoked cigars[2] (SI16, SI22, SI25, SI35-40), became angry easily (SQ12), made students the targets of their amusement (SQ25), looked down upon them, were overly active like clowns (SQ84), and had biases towards certain students (SQ97). Cultural variance in role prescriptions led to confusion and misunderstanding. FTI4 (L122-125) noted that the Chinese students, from a hierarchical society where teacher authority is respected, often felt uncomfortable with foreign teachers' informal and casual behaviours.

Many Chinese students tended to take these abnormal behaviours for granted, making allowance for the breach of the rules of the Chinese classroom, but about one quarter of them interpreted such behaviours as disrespectful to them (22.5%, SQ:P2:S1:Q24). It seemed to these students that those foreign teachers failed to fulfil their prescribed roles as teachers. Foreign teachers, however, were generally unaware of the perceptions of their classroom behaviours as culturally inappropriate.

Teachers' classroom communication behaviour based on personal habits, intentions and self-concepts can be a source of teacher-student conflicts. Having been socialised in a particular culture, teachers tend to engage in "scripted" behaviour (Gudykunst, 1994, p. 13), unaware of what they are doing or saying, unaware of the sometimes devastating consequences their behaviour may bring about.

Some foreign teachers' classroom behaviours and remarks were perceived as hurting the Chinese students' self-esteem and their national pride. Chinese students, well aware of their national history, are particularly sensitive to certain issues related to their national pride or shame. The description by Berstein and Munro (1997) is informative:

> China's particular brand of patriotism, what we have already called a nationalism of aggrievement and thwarted grandeur, is rooted in the long, humiliating century during which foreign imperialists carved out spheres of influence, sold opium to the Chinese masses, enjoyed the protection of their own police and courts in their enclaves on Chinese soil, and frequently embarked on armed invasions of China to punish the Chinese for some act of disobedience. China is quick to take offence and to view disagreements that other countries might take more easily in stride as assaults on the national dignity, requiring an uncompromising response. (p. 42)

The pervasively instilled anti-foreign feelings, unseen by foreigners (Ford, 1990; Berstein & Munro, 1997), could be a serious problem for foreign teachers whose remarks and behaviours could generate serious teacher-student tensions without the teacher's knowledge. What foreign teachers had intended might be wrongly communicated (FTI11,

---

[2] As in Australian universities, smoking is prohibited in Chinese classrooms.

L381-383). As reported in Chapter Four, one Chinese teacher could not forget the episode (CTI9, L1-3) in which the "proud, conceited, and irresponsible" foreign teacher often enlarged on the good side of Britain, exaggerated the negative side of China, and in exemplifying this difference, was boastful of the size of British apples. Even as a PhD student in the West, this Chinese teacher still bore the scar left in her student days. She felt that her esteem and her national pride were humiliated by the foreign teacher.

SI9 (L88-92) reported that she did not feel happy with the foreign teacher who assigned them a writing topic: comparing Chinese and American women. She guessed that what the teacher wanted was to ask the students to draw a conclusion that the American women enjoyed more freedom than the Chinese women did. She felt the teacher was biased towards and intentionally humiliating Chinese women. The teacher failed to recognise the cultural and political implications in the assignment. As the extracts from the interviews with foreign teachers reveal, it is difficult for them to imagine that Chinese students, cultivated in their high-context culture, drew inferences from teachers' remarks and behaviours that might not have been intended.

The perceived and socially granted unequal status between foreign teachers and others, as pointed out earlier, can become a potential source of interpersonal miscommunication. The social status attributed to the foreign teachers may have prevented them from being seen as "insiders." Their identities and language superiority mark them as a special privileged class without a fixed point of reference in the hierarchical Chinese society. The Chinese administrators at departmental level, perceiving their own status as lower than the foreign recruits, are unlikely to clarify to the foreign teachers their expectations and objectives (AI9, AI15). However, the Chinese administrators do have their objectives and expectations. It is a Chinese cultural norm that a pecking order should be observed. Some foreign teachers, not sure of their identities, may have sent inappropriate signals that were interpreted by the Chinese as condescending and self-conceited (CTI8, AI15, SI9). When teachers were seen to put on airs, it was impossible for them to develop a close rapport with their students and colleagues, especially in a Chinese context in which modesty and humility are considered as an important interpersonal characteristic (Tsui, 1996).

Some foreign teachers, recognising the importance of interactive classroom activities, tended to use current politically sensitive themes -- such as students' attitudes towards the Chinese Communist Party, towards the current Chinese leaders, towards the

Chinese birth control policies and human rights -- for discussions (AI7, AI8, AI11). Unlike the cultural context in Australia where a particular political leader, or a particular party can be mocked (FTI4), ridiculing a specific political figure or a party, or government policy in China can lead to serious consequences which students make attempts to avoid. Some foreign teachers might have failed to realise that their classroom conduct had violated their prescribed roles -- as teachers to teach the language only rather than to engage students in political discussions (AI8). The violation is likely to be interpreted as anti-China behaviour (AI8). Stepping out of the role boundary has created serious political concerns on the part of the Chinese administrators (AI7, AI8, AI11, AI12). For example, AI7 accused the foreign teachers of "spying" as a result of their use of questionnaires and interview-based, data-gathering techniques to obtain conversational data in the classes they taught.

As pointed out previously, Chinese students seemed to have transferred the parent image to the teacher who, as a *guru*, is expected to look after the students, is responsible for students' learning progress, and to steer students onto a right path through parental care. In steering a path for students, the teacher is expected to point out students' shortcomings, rather than to spoil them with praise, and the overcoming of those shortcomings identified by the teacher is believed to lead to progress in learning. SI1 (L145-147) claimed,

> The foreign teachers do not point out our shortcomings so as to help us to overcome them. I think pointing out our shortcomings, though embarrassing, can indeed be useful. We do not need praise. We need something really useful to our learning.

Foreign teachers tend to encourage the students by giving more praise than criticism. Such communication styles, when used without awareness of students' expectations, gave the students an impression that these foreign teachers, heavily relying on the face-saving and "candy-coated" strategies (SI2, L162), were "insincere" in their attitudes towards the students (SI3, L156). It was SI2's (L160-162) expectation that foreign teachers would identify and point out each individual students' weakness in learning, the problems they face, and help them to overcome these problems so as to bring about substantial changes in learning. In short, foreign teachers' constant use of praise to encourage students to learn has been culturally misinterpreted and it has led to students' suspicion of foreign teachers' personal motives.

There can be no easy solution to those communications problems. To cope with those problems, teachers need to be aware of the nature and significance of culture and the impact of culture on communication by "externalisation" -- stepping outside themselves and evaluating their own behaviour from an outsider's perspective (O'Sullivan, 1994, p. 99). Cultural awareness through reflection and inquiry may help both foreign teachers and Chinese students to enhance their communication skills, and promote a cultural synergy in which conflicting ideas and cultural differences can be accommodated. This issue will be explored further in Chapter Six.

In summary, communication styles, shaped by codes of culture, have exerted an enormous influence on teaching and learning. In high-context cultures, communication messages are not in the explicit code while in low-context cultures, the mass of information is explicitly transmitted. Many cultural misunderstandings arose when foreign teachers coming from low-context cultures to teach in high-context cultures failed to read the culturally coded messages. The cultural shaping has created a gap between foreign teachers and Chinese students and led to miscommunication so that learner needs and expectations often remained unclear to foreign teachers. Therefore, matching teaching to learner needs, which are also culturally shaped, became problematic.

5.2 Learner Needs Perspectives

Catering for learner needs has been the priority in all teachers' agendas. However, anticipating, identifying, and addressing learner needs is often problematic in that learner needs are constructed under the influence of cultural values, beliefs, expectations, career orientations, competing interests, and personal short-term and long-term goals (Richards, 1996; Ulychny, 1996). In addition, the needs, which influence the context, come also from the institution. The internal conflicts, manifested in top-down imperatives for change and resistance derived from traditions, and the confounding nature of learner needs present problems for foreign teachers in China, whose teaching is, as the data show, perceived to be negatively correlated with students' length of exposure.

Students play a critical role in the process of change. To implement positive change, foreign teachers need to identify and explore ways to deal with discrepancies between their own needs and expectations and those of the students, i.e., to match their agendas with those of the students.

Needs and expectations are basically shaped by one's own beliefs, socialisation, and the demands of the contexts (Coleman, 1996a; Allwright, 1996). Therefore, needs and expectations are dynamic in nature. They are associated with one's competing interests and immediate and ultimate goals. Thus learner needs can be divided into short-term (immediate) needs and long-term (ultimate) needs (Nicholas, 1985). Short-term needs involve students' temporary desires, wants, and expectations (Candlin, 1984) while long-term needs involve the ultimate goals of learning, which may be shaped by the curricular goals, or career goals, personal goals, or institutional goals. Very often, short-term needs are geared to facilitating the long-term needs. Rarely are individual student's needs similar or identical, even though they may have similar goals, such as being an interpreter, or being an English language teacher. Identifying and addressing the needs of all students can be a challenge to all teachers. The challenge can be greater for expatriate teachers than for local teachers as teachers and students rarely share similar cultural values, beliefs and interpretative frameworks (Candlin, 1984; Barrow, 1990; Holliday, 1994b, 1996; Allwright, 1996; Coleman, 1996a; Cortazzi, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a).

Needs analysis is crucial for teachers in selecting a teaching mode "that seems likely to hit the right chord with students" (Tudor, 1993, p. 27). Foreign teachers base their teaching on their professional judgements of the needs, intentions and resources of learners, and on their perceptions of the expectations of the institution. Given the confounded nature of learner needs, given the contextualised complexity of teaching and learning, matching the learner needs can be problematic in that needs beg multiple interpretations based on the different agendas, needs constructs, judgements, perceptions, expectations, and actions of those who are involved, directly and indirectly.

Indeed, as shown in the data, there is rarely a consensus amongst foreign teachers, Chinese students, and the Chinese administrators of the host institution as to what constitutes good teaching practice. Chinese students' needs are shaped by the competing and conflicting interests of individuals, the demands of the host institution, the orientations of the local and central governments, the prescriptions of the centralised curricula and the assessment system. So many different forces are at play with learner needs that it is impossible to cope with all these needs at the same time. The needs of students and foreign teachers are also subject to, and constructed by, the needs of the host institution. There often exists a hidden, internal conflict as the institutional needs are generally vague, unclear, and sometimes unrealistic (FTI1, FTI4, AI9; see also Maley, 1986a; T. Scovel, 1983; Brennan & Miao, 1983; 1986a; Mahoney, 1990; Ross, 1993; McIlwraith, 1996). The conflict, if not managed well, may put foreign teachers and Chinese students in difficult situations. Foreign teachers are constantly pulled by different forces exemplified in the differing and changing needs and expectations. Matching the diverse, complex, and indefinable needs of individual learners and the expectations of the host institution is problematic for foreign teachers who may have scant knowledge of the Chinese language and culture, the background of the students they are teaching, and the expectations of the host institutions.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, Chinese students' satisfaction is negatively correlated with the length of their exposure to foreign teachers' teaching. Overall, almost one third of the students (30.2%, SQ:P2:S1:Q5) felt disappointed about foreign teachers' teaching. Students' levels of dissatisfaction rose with the increase of exposure to foreign teachers' teaching (see Table 5-1). Their dissatisfaction led them to increasingly believe that foreign teachers' teaching was a waste of time and energy (SQ:P2:S1:Q6, see Table 5-2), and that they could not learn much in foreign teachers' classes (SQ:P2:S1:Q7, see Table 5-3). The higher the levels of the students, the more they were certain that foreign teachers' teaching could not lead to high proficiency in English (SQ:P2:S1:Q12, see Table 5-4). A complementary finding is that a majority of students from Year Two to Year Four believed that they could learn more in Chinese teachers' classes than in foreign teachers' classes (SQ:P2:S1:Q16, see Table 5-5).

Foreign teachers' English teaching is disappointing. Table 5-1

Length of Exposure	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Percentage (Agree, Strongly Agree)	1.9%	25.9%	35.5%	56.4%

Foreign teachers' classes waste our time and energy. Table 5-2

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Length of Exposure	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Percentage (Agree, Strongly Agree)	1.9%	21.0%	21.8%	35.5%

I cannot learn much in foreign teachers' classes. Table 5-3

Length of Exposure	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Percentage (Agree, Strongly Agree)	5.7%	21.0%	28.1%	46.8%

Foreign teachers' teaching cannot lead to high proficiency. Table 5-4

Length of Exposure	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Percentage (Agree, Strongly Agree)	23.1%	34.6%	35.1%	61.3%

I can learn more in Chinese teachers' classes than in foreign teachers' classes.
Table 5-5

Length of Exposure	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Percentage (Agree, Strongly Agree)	48.1%	58.0%	63.6%	91.9%

The students changed their perceptions of foreign teachers' teaching from relatively positive to negative with increasing exposure; in other words, the students' satisfaction was negatively related to the length of the exposure to foreign teachers' teaching. Resistance increased in accordance with the increase in exposure.

Most foreign teachers (91.7%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q9) realised the existence of the gulf but their efforts to narrow or bridge the gap did not seem to have achieved significantly positive results. In spite of foreign teachers' self-evaluation that their teaching had been successful or extremely successful (75.0%, FTQ:P1:S2:Q6), the Chinese administrators, teachers, and students felt differently (see 4.3 & 4.4).

One of the explanations of the inverse-ratio phenomenon, as the survey data suggest, is that a majority of foreign teachers did not have any knowledge of the students' mother tongue and culture which led to their failure to anticipate and help the students cope with their learning needs and difficulties. A large proportion of students (71.9%, SQ:P2:S1:Q8) expected their foreign teachers to understand the Chinese language so as to better understand their learning difficulties. This theme also kept appearing in the interviews. Such expectations could rarely be fulfilled, as a large majority of foreign teachers had never learned the Chinese language.

In Medgyes' (1990) view, "For all their goodwill, native speakers are basically unaware of the whole complexity of difficulties that non-native speakers have to tackle" (p. 109). Medgyes (1996) claims, therefore, that the ideal native-speaking teacher is the one who has achieved a high proficiency in the learner's language while an ideal non-native teacher is the one who has achieved a near-native proficiency in English. To Medgyes, the teacher who understands the learners' mother tongue has a greater ability to anticipate and identify learner needs and the language difficulties that the learners face, to provide adequate information about the language system, and to be empathetic to the needs and problems of students. Scovel (1994) also believes that unless native English speakers know the students' target language well, they are prevented from using many of the effective ways a non-native English teacher adopts, such as classroom management, linguistic and structural analyses, translating and interpreting difficult vocabulary, predicting students' learning difficulties, and anticipating avoidance.

Very often, it is difficult for foreign teachers, who do not know the students' mother tongue, to identify and predict the students' "cross-linguistic constraints" (Leong & Hsia, 1996, p. 63) indigenous to Chinese students, such as phonological and phonemic processing, or syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic constraints in comprehending English sentences. The influence of the first language can also be seen in intonational cohesion, morphology, typological transfer, written discourse, the interpretation of vocabulary in context, literary conventions, and cultural issues (Li, 1998a; Wong, 1988; Wennerstrom, 1998; Dzau, 1990b; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). The foreign teacher could easily dwell on something the students already knew, but might ignore or be unaware of what the students did not understand. What seems to be too easy might turn out to be too difficult for the students and vice versa.

There is evidence to show, however, that there is a limited number of foreign teachers who do not know the Chinese language but have achieved remarkable results and won high acclaim from the host institutions for their outstanding achievements[3]. It is, however, dangerous to attribute the problems in language teaching and learning to one single variable only. Teaching in cross-cultural contexts involves many other factors that may all contribute to success or less achievement in classroom interactions.

---

[3] In one of the universities included in the survey, two foreign teachers were awarded the title of "Honorary Professor" for their positive professional contributions to the university.

In summary, foreign teachers were expected to tailor their teaching to the students' diverse needs that were shaped by the competing and conflicting interests, expectations of individuals and the host institutions. However, they had difficulties identifying these needs that were generally vague, unclear, and probably unrealistic. The students' satisfaction was found to be negatively correlated with the length of the Chinese students' exposure to foreign teachers' teaching. It was argued that knowing the students' mother tongue might be a great advantage in anticipating, identifying, and addressing students' needs, short-term or long-term, but as most foreign teachers did not know the students' mother tongue, the problem did not seem to have any ready solution.

The data in Chapter Four indicate that there were substantial problems in direct transference of pedagogical innovations from one culture to another as different cultures of learning shape different perceptions, expectations and role boundaries. The following discussion will examine from another perspective the difference between ESL and EFL in an attempt to point out the hurdles that seem to have prevented foreign teachers in China from successful pedagogical transference.

5.3 The ESL and EFL Perspectives

It was pointed out in Chapter Four that both foreign and Chinese teachers recognised that direct transfer of Western teaching approaches to China was unrealistic (82.7%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q1; 66.6%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q1) and that it was therefore essential to adapt Western teaching approaches to suit the needs of the Chinese students and the local contexts (90.4%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q2; 66.7%, FTQ: P2:S1:Q2). Only one out of twelve foreign teachers believed that the training foreign teachers received in the West was sufficient to help them cope with EFL teaching in China (FTQ:P2:S1:Q6). In spite of the fact that a majority of foreign teachers (75.1%, FTQ:P2:S2:Q6) perceived their teaching as successful or very successful, only a very limited number of foreign teachers (16.7%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q15) felt that the pedagogies that they used fulfilled the expectations of the students. This view was consistent with those of Chinese teachers, a very limited number of whom agreed that Western teaching techniques suited the needs of Chinese students (9.7%, CTQ:P3:S1:Q9).

The change of the teaching contexts requires changes in teaching methodologies and teaching procedures (Widdowson, 1992b, 1993; Prabhu, 1987, 1996). There is no one single "best" teaching method that is universally applicable (Nicholas, 1985; Prabhu, 1990; Widdowson, 1993; Cook & Seidlhofer, 1996). Imposing Western teaching models upon the Chinese without taking into account cultural factors can greatly reduce the chance of pedagogical success in China (Li, 1998a, 1998b; Shu, 1988; Sun, 1990; Orton, 1990; Holliday, 1997; Wan, 1997; Yu, 1984). The central point in the argument is that in transferring Western pedagogies to Chinese classrooms, foreign teachers, as much of the data show (see 4.3.2.1), failed to distinguish ESL from EFL, introducing teaching methodologies popular or perhaps successful in ESL contexts into EFL contexts. The following discussion will point out the important distinction between the two teaching contexts and the significance of pedagogical reconciliation in the process of pedagogical transplanting in order to avoid tissue rejections.

Significant differences exist in many aspects between ESL and EFL contexts (Allwright, 1996; Nayar, 1997). These include the make-up of the student population, purposes of learning, learning tasks, requirements of language proficiency, the quality and quantity of language interactions, and socio-cultural contexts in which teaching and learning take place (Damen, 1986; Brown, 1987; Burnaby & Sun, 1989; Gass, 1990; Reid, 1987; Orton, 1990; Ellis, 1994), the psycholinguistic and, sociolinguistic processes involved in learners' building-up of a grammatical system of speech behaviour (VanPatten and Lee, 1990, p. 241). ESL differs from EFL in socio-cultural contexts, in the quality and quantity of exposure, in interactive modes and teaching methods (Nayar, 1997; Allwright, 1996), and in learners' cognitive and psychological developments (Gass, 1990).

ESL learners, coming from many parts of the world, learn English in a country where English is the main medium of communication. Teachers "are faced with a heterogeneous group, in terms of the languages and cultural traditions from which they come" (Reed, 1990, p. 66). ESL English, taught by native speakers, is instrumentally oriented to the needs of the learners -- preparing them for advanced academic pursuit, or for "fulfilling employers' expectations" (Auerbach, 1991, p. 5), or for their eventual integration into the target language community (Nayar, 1997; Allwright, 1996). Tollefson

(1993) has pointed out how these "needs" are also constructed by the host society. Brown (1986) pointed out that ESL

> involves the deepest form of acculturation. The learner must survive within a strange culture as well as learn a language on which he is totally dependent for communication. (p. 34)

Residing in the country offers learners opportunities to be immersed in the language community and thus practise their language skills in authentic spoken and written situations, and learner difficulties can be addressed immediately. In Nayar's (1997) view, "the crucialness of environment support"(p. 17) becomes an important theme in ESL context. English can be learned either in the classroom or outside the classroom, in school or at home. Newspapers, TV programs, street signs, advertisements, and road maps, which are not easily available for EFL learners, may become sources of learning. For ESL learners, English is not learned as a disciplinary subject; rather, it is seen as an instrument with which to attend the mainstream classes where English is used (Auerbach, 1991), or to move "toward the privilege of admittance into and full participation in the target society, for socio-economic respectability and upward mobility" (Nayar, 1997, p. 17). As a result, English can be taught in an unstructured way (Orton, 1990), the content being focused on the practicality and instrumentality of the language.

In order to communicate with others in the community, ESL learners need to pay much more attention to interactive skills than linguistic knowledge (Gass, 1990). Oracy and learner participation are extremely important for students to develop their verbal skills, which are more urgent for ESL learners than for EFL learners. As Allwright (1996) argues, in the ESL context, pedagogical considerations involve cultural learning and "the most extreme form of socialisation"(p. 213) more than linguistic matters. The socio-cultural contexts provide ESL learners with more opportunities to use the language than EFL learners.

In the ESL classroom, a teacher may have substantial freedom in implementing what he/she thinks necessary for learners' linguistic survival, enculturation and socialisation. It is the students who have to make efforts to adapt to the cultures of teaching and learning of the target language community and teachers become transmitters and reinforcers of the cultural values and beliefs of the society. Teachers have power and authority to implement the pedagogical innovations based on the teaching principles derived from the teachers' own cultural background. Learner resistance is often silenced because the "right" or "wrong" is judged in accordance with the values held by the teachers of the society. If there is any cultural clash, it is the students, not the teachers, who have to adjust their previously held cultural values, beliefs, and expectations to comply with the values and beliefs of the target language community.

In contrast, EFL learners in China[4] learn English as a major (lasting 4 to 7 years at undergraduate and postgraduate levels in a tertiary institution[5]) leading to a life-long career in an educational context where English cannot be easily heard and seen outside the classroom. Chances are rare for most of them to have any access to native speakers. The Chinese teachers of English, the textbooks, and the pre-recorded audiotapes are the major sources of learning. Many learners may never have a chance to speak English with native speakers. The learning situation and atmosphere created by the teacher in the classroom are almost artificial because students do not have actual communicative needs (Orton, 1990; Judd, 1987). English is learned in a situation where the language "is not a normal part of the regular lives of the learners." (Allwright, 1996, p. 213). Unlike the ESL classroom learning that emphasises verbal skills and interactive processes, EFL classroom learning puts more emphasis on linguistic forms (Gass, 1990), literary studies (Li, 1998a), and "paper qualificatory" purposes (Allwright, 1996, p. 213). As EFL learners are bound by their culture, there are more difficulties for them to decode culture-laden vocabulary and sentences than ESL learners. The problems they encounter in learning may not be addressed immediately. Pedagogies in EFL situations put more emphasis on linguistic matters than enculturation and socialisation (Allwright, 1996). As the exposure to the authentic language is limited, the process of socialisation is minimal. Socialising the learners as members of the target language community can be an extremely difficult, even impossible, task in EFL contexts (Holliday, 1994a; Orton, 1990).

The discourse of oracy and learner participation, which is applicable and desirable in an ESL context, may be normatively and contextually constrained in EFL situations (Seedhouse, 1996; Holliday, 1994b). Ellis (1984, p. 2) describes the EFL classroom as a "pure" classroom where the learner depends on the teacher and the instructions for learning in contrast to "impure" ESL classrooms where the learner has access to other experiences as a supplementary means of learning. In the "pure" EFL classroom, the teacher's presentation of the language is expected to be well structured, systematic, coherent, and form-focused (Gass, 1990). In such a "pure" classroom, enculturation and socialisation, if at all, take place in students' imaginary world and their creative associations and inferences. What the learners understand may be quite different from what really is. For example, the word *football* in Australia may be too narrowly interpreted as *soccer* in China. Many such misinterpretations can be avoided or readily corrected in ESL contexts.

---

[4] I refer to Chinese students who learn English as a major at Chinese tertiary institutions.

[5] Most Chinese students have studied English for at least six years before they come to university.

Unlike ESL learners who learn English for some practical purpose, EFL major students learn the language as a tool for their life-long career, and therefore are expected to learn the language inside out by analysing the language and by internalising the operating system of the language. The centralised curricula for the English language majors, for example, cover a wide range of subjects, such as linguistics, modern and classical literature, culture, phonetics, lexicology, phonology, pragmatics, semantics, and stylistics.[6] All these may seem irrelevant to ESL learners unless they are to engage in studies in one of these fields.

Teachers from an ESL background may encounter more constraints in EFL contexts than in ESL contexts, and may find it difficult to cope with the different student and institutional needs and expectations (Allwright, 1996). In the EFL classroom, teaching and pedagogical innovations are constrained by many local cultural paradigms. Teaching is often subject to the objectives of the host institution and thus EFL teachers do not have as much freedom as ESL teachers in implementing the pedagogies that are popular and successful in ESL situations. It is the teachers who have to make efforts to adapt to the cultures of teaching and learning of the students' society. Although the EFL teachers are also transmitters and reinforcers of their cultural values and beliefs, they must seriously consider cultural compatibilities (Widdowson, 1993). Learner resistance and faculty resistance, often not directed at teachers in person, but at the expectancy disparities in pedagogical implementation, become inevitable (Keeley et al., 1995; Haas & Keeley, 1998). These disparities cannot be easily removed because the judgement of "right" or

---

[6] See for example, *Gaodeng Xuexiao Yingyu Zhuangye Gao Nianji Yingyu Jiaoxue Dagan* [*The English curriculum for undergraduate senior English language majors*] (1989) by the English Curriculum Design Committee. Beijing: English Teaching and Research Press.

"wrong" is made in accordance with the values and perceptions held by the students' society. Teachers' willingness to adjust their previously held cultural values, beliefs, and expectations to roughly match the values, beliefs and expectations of the students and the host institution becomes an important issue in their pedagogic actions (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a). It is the host institution that calls the tune in spite of a misperception that it is the EFL teachers, the native speakers of the language, who have the final say. Teachers' cultural values and beliefs are challenged in the EFL classroom where expatriate teachers ride their linguistic horse on the unmarked and unsighted terrains of another culture (Nayar, 1989).

Awareness of the ESL/EFL distinction may enable EFL teachers to adopt appropriate teaching methods in their teaching, and more easily position their roles as teachers. Though there are commonalities -- both involve language teaching and learning and socialisation, teaching methods successful in ESL situations may not necessarily be appropriate in EFL backgrounds. In Nayar's (1997) opinion, the blurring of the ESL/EFL differences is "not academically or pedagogically advantageous" (p. 27). Acknowledging the apparent differences will allow teachers "to offer appropriate perspectives in teaching strategies and materials" (Nayar, 1997, p. 27). Foreign teachers need to be aware that there is no such a thing as the "master key" in language teaching. Attempts to use one key to solve all problems seem unrealistic. In the view of Allwright (1996),

> ... the fact that language pedagogy itself is not unitary but importantly divided between second and foreign language situations may lead us to expect each situation to have its own distinct implication for the issue of socialisation. (pp. 213-214)

Imposing ESL models on the Chinese EFL classroom seems to lead to more problems than positive outcomes (Shu, 1988). Having taught ESL and EFL students in Canada and Hong Kong for many years, FTI14 realised that the recognition of the ESL/EFL distinction was crucial for her to take a "balanced" approach to language teaching. She said she had to tailor her teaching to the local needs rather than transplant ESL models directly to the EFL context. It seems that some foreign teachers (like FTI3, FTI4) did make adjustments and adaptations in their teaching, but the extent to which their adjustments and adaptations were tuned to the local cultures is unclear.

The previous discussion of the distinction between ESL and EFL suggests that pedagogical reconciliation is critical in cross-cultural settings. However, pedagogical modifications can rarely move far from what Nayar (1985) calls the "white man's burden" (p. 27), the birthmark of their cultural influences. The "burden" heavily affects and restricts expatriate teachers' perceptions, judgements, and interpretations of the local culture. Its presence is reinforced by the apparent requirement of the host institutions that the teachers act as agents of change to introduce new approaches to teaching (see 4.1.2.1). The confused agenda underpins the significance of teachers' constant vigilance, exploration, inquiry, and reflection in order to avoid cultural imposition and value clashes.

In short, there are commonalities and differences in ESL and EFL. Change of contexts requires different teaching options at a variety of levels to meet learner needs, institutional and cultural expectations, even though it may be difficult to determine what these needs are. It would be pedagogically naive to directly transplant models developed in ESL contexts to an EFL context where learners' learning objectives, goals and environments are different. The following section will look into the problems in foreign teachers' attempts to transfer an ESL model -- the discourse of oracy and participation -- to the EFL contexts in China.

5.4 *The Discourse of Oracy and Participation*

Characteristic of foreign teachers' teaching in China, as the data have shown, is the discourse of oracy and participation, which favours conversational styles of teaching. The discourse appears to be inconsistent with transmission styles of teaching those who emphasise careful and detailed analyses of the written discourse. Yet, as has been indicated, there are also strong forces within China advocating this approach to teaching.

The communicative approach favours students' participation in the form of pair and group work and group discussions (debates) based on a rationale that such classroom activities can provide opportunities for oral fluency, encourage cooperation and exchange of ideas, create a more democratic learning atmosphere, give learners a sense of responsibility for their own learning (Liberman, 1994; Lamb, 1996), involve them "in comprehending, manipulating, producing, or interacting in the target language while their attention is principally focused on meaning rather than form" (Nunan, 1989, p. 10), and provide them with maximum opportunities to practise the language. The discourse is, according to Holliday (1997), "specific to a particular professional-academic culture" (p. 409). As students' success in learning is measured by the degree and scope of participation, students are in fact forced to conform to the teachers' prescribed "classroom cultural régime" (Holliday, 1997, p. 410).

The discourse of oracy and participation has been transplanted to and practised in China by foreign teachers. Many of them in this survey acknowledged that they had been using a communicative approach in their teaching, probably not in the strict sense as described by Canale and Swain (1980), but rather by involving students in group work, discussions, and spontaneous exchanges in unplanned discourse, in an attempt to create opportunities for student-student interactions. Some (FTI4, FTI5, FTI6, for example) reported that they spent much of their classroom time on group interactions rather than on lectures. The ability to organise interactive activities appears to have become a touchstone of teaching quality and a symbol of modernity and Western technology (FTI3, FTI4, FTI14). A foreign teacher (FTI5, L99) who taught English writing, for example, asserted that he favoured cooperative learning in his teaching, an approach in which students are divided into small groups to engage in discussions and debate. He believed that this was the most "effective teaching style" that he had used in the United States and he wished to transfer it to China. He (L102-103) emphasised, "We don't stand up in front to lecture like Chinese teachers do.[7] We move around. We are very active." He (L97) believed that Chinese students liked his teaching very much. However, SI10 (L133-145), who was being taught by the teacher, commented that the students were utterly disappointed with the "messy" writing class in which they "did not know what the teacher was doing." A Chinese teacher (CTI5, L62-63), who had just graduated from the university and had been taught by the same foreign teacher, reported that "Our writing class was taught by a foreign teacher. We did not like him because he was always finding fault with our compositions and he never taught us how to write." The teacher's perceptions of teaching effectiveness clashed with the students' interpretations. The cultural and contextual constraints on enacting the discourse of oracy and participation, a cultural product which originated in the West (Pennycook, 1994), will be discussed below.

---

[7] He (L304) admitted, however, that he had never observed Chinese teachers' classroom teaching.

Firstly, in implementing the conversational styles of teaching (or the Socratic method, as FTI11 called it), foreign teachers, while emphasising the importance of learner participation, may have failed to recognise that such teaching styles may not be appropriate for all aspects of English. Some aspects involve fewer conversations and learner participation than others. Foreign teachers, as the survey data show, made every attempt to engage students in group activities in almost all courses. One foreign teacher (FTI1, L30-39), for example, taught English literature by using the love themes in Shakespearian sonnets as topics to discuss contemporary love issues rather than to discuss the themes embedded in these sonnets, the poetics the poet employed, the literary devices used, and the linguistic features that Chinese students were supposed to know. It is not the contemporary love themes that students are interested in, but how these themes are expressed linguistically or poetically in literature. It would be as disturbing if someone taught William Blake's poem, "The Tiger", and asked students to discuss the feline species, or Herman Melville's novel, *Moby Dick*, by talking only about different species of whales. Another foreign teacher who taught English composition was particularly interested in students' participation in group activities rather than *telling* students how to write a piece of composition of some value and letting them practise on their own (SI7, L126). Students failed to identify the association of such teaching with the objectives of the courses. Such teaching styles were perceived to be irrelevant to what the courses intended, and were therefore regarded as not achieving desirable results.

Implicit in the oracy discourse is the notion that in language learning, the primary aim is the negotiation of ideas in the learning context. That is, the ideas embedded in the content, be it a written text or something out of the teacher's head, are more important than linguistic forms and the cultural inputs that convey those ideas. The discourse, however, fails to recognise that in language learning, it is not ideas, important as they are, but the linguistic forms and cultural connotations that are used to represent these ideas that students need. It is the language itself that is the learning object, not the ideas prompted in group and peer work. The purpose of group work and discussions is to serve the learning object -- language. Putting students in groups to "discuss" the ideas prescribed by the teacher is not enough to ensure linguistic and academic progress in all areas, and group work or peer work alone cannot help learners to attend to linguistic forms (McGroarty, 1995). Negotiation that is favoured in the communicative approach may also fail to address the linguistic aspects that are essential for language acquisition. Pica (1994) has pointed out that

> negotiation does not appear to assist L2 learning, especially with respect to the learner's need to access L2 grammatical morphology and to strive toward production of L2 morphosyntax. (pp. 493-4)

Over-emphasis on the discourse of oracy and participation is likely to ignore the importance of students' internalisation of L2 rules and structures, which is the priority of language learning (Wang, 1986; Pica et al., 1989; Pica et al., 1991; Pica, 1994; McGroarty, 1995, 1998). Class work framed by the oracy discourse alone, Pica (1995) maintains, "may not leave sufficient room for work on language itself, or on the cognitive processes considered essential for language learning" (p. 382).

Secondly, large class-sizes, ranging from 30 to 40 (FTI8, FTI9) may present difficulties for foreign teachers attempting to undertake group work and discussions. Students are crowded in one room, without much space for group activities. Besides, the large class size requires teachers to have good organising abilities and students to be willing to participate. Many complaints from students were about foreign teachers' inability to organise the classroom activities and their unfair treatment of particular students (SI35-40). The two-hour period was the only time for them to listen to the native speaker, and they were very unhappy to be divided into groups to be fed with large doses of ungrammatical English from their peers, while seeing the teacher, apparently idling in the classroom or being monopolised by a limited few (SI35, SQ260, SQ262, SQ279). The class size seems to have raised the question about the limitations of importing into large classes instructional management techniques originating in Western contexts of small and medium classes (Shamin, 1996a; Bailey & Nunan, 1996).

Thirdly, foreign teachers might be unaware of the fact that there is fierce competition among Chinese students (see discussions in Yang, 1986; Ho, 1986; Szalay, et al., 1994; On, 1996), each trying to outdo the other in a society where examination scores count at almost every stage of their student life. The ownership of knowledge is perceived by Chinese students as vital in asserting self-identity and realising self-fulfilment. Students are driven by their achievement motivations (Kember & Gow, 1991; Gow et al., 1996; Biggs, 1996), or Confucian dynamics, in gaining their social identity (Hofstede, 1991). Tafarodi and Swann (1996) explain that in the Chinese society, self is to be embedded in institutions and found in social relations. Unlike individualistic cultures where the need for distinctiveness is met through self-asserting actions, personal distinction in collectivist societies is achieved through pursuit of excellence by setting up very high ideals of performance generally accepted and appreciated by the group (Marcus & Kitayama, 1991). Self distinctiveness is realised by strong determination to succeed (Ho, 1986; Bond & Hwang, 1986). The success, through "stringent internal calibration" (Tafarodi and Swann, 1996, p. 666), compensates for the submersion of self in the collectivist culture. The socially approved achievement motivations provide the primary impetus for individuals to strive for a high level of achievement, though not all can reach the target. Such a social context is likely to prevent foreign teachers from using group work and discussion as major teaching modes. Foreign teachers emphasising group work and discussions in their teaching may have developed a notion among Chinese students that foreign teachers' teaching could not help Chinese students to achieve a high level of proficiency (SQ:P2:S1:Q12) and may also have led them to believe that they could not expect to learn much from foreign teachers (SQ:P2:S1:Q10). Learner participation is thus regarded as unrelated to their expectations of increasing their linguistic, literary and cultural knowledge (SQ:P2:S1:Q23), which is desired for their individual success in the competitive class.

Fourthly, Chinese students have their own personality characteristics that are culturally conditioned. According to Scovel (1994), personality characteristics and learning preferences are shaped by cultural norms. In his study he found that different cognitive qualities are shaped by different cultures. He identified that the following learning strategies were prevalent among learners from Confucian cultural values: being accurate, playing it safe, being hierarchical, and introverted, in contrast to the non-Confucian cultures of being accurate and fluent, taking risks, being non-hierarchical, and extroverted. Tarone and Yule (1989) acknowledge that

> such an approach to the learning and use of a second language may result from training procedures in their native countries, or may preserve powerful cultural constraints on how individuals should present themselves in public, are important points to recognise. (p. 54)

Western "challenge-defending" approaches seem to contradict such Confucian tenets and thus appear to be "face-threatening" (Flowerdew, 1998, p. 326). Cazden (1990) quotes an unpublished paper by Scollon and Scollon as saying,

> The Confucian emphasis on benevolence and respect between teacher and student makes it difficult to use conversational English teaching methods which are based on Western assumptions about classroom relations between teachers and students. If an English teacher does not first take this cultural difference into account, the direct application of conversational methods can produce frustration in the teacher and a sense in the students that the teacher is not behaving appropriately. (pp. 722-723)

The Confucian learning strategies had been observed by many foreign teachers in my survey. FTI4 reported that Chinese students were fully aware of the teacher-student hierarchical structure (L119-120) and were afraid of losing face while making mistakes (L141). FTI6 (L173-179) reported that some of her students were very upset when they were called upon by the teacher to speak up in class. She said that for some students, "it's really a handicap for them to come into the classroom" (L175) where the teacher emphasised students' interaction and participation. Some introverted students, she claimed, felt too embarrassed to come to her class. However, she (L201-212) believed strongly in students' active participation, which seemed to her to be the only "right" way to learn and practise the language and to emancipate students from their passivity.

In addition, the discourse of oracy and participation is an implicit threat to Chinese students' self-concept and "the maxim of modesty" (Tsui, 1996, p. 158), which prevents self-assertiveness -- by subjecting them to testing and negative evaluation by the teachers and their peers. In Tsui's research, involving Chinese students in group activities and discussions would generate anxieties, fears, and frustration, and ultimately teacher-student tensions, a counter-productive effect of the communicative approach, which emphasises learning in a less stressful environment. The Confucian emphasis on self-effacement and a certain level of humility discourage students from elevating "self" (Flowerdew, 1998, p. 326). Just as Horwitz et al. (1986) have pointed out, "any performance in the L2 is likely to challenge an individual's self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to reticence, self-consciousness, fear, or even panic" (p. 128).

The students' acceptance of teacher authority rejected learner participation as inappropriate teacher performance. SI10 (L24-28) complained that she did not like learner participation advocated by foreign teachers who asked students to contribute to discussions of viewpoints in the literary pieces while teachers refused to offer their views and comments. She argued that while the students did not have any basic knowledge of English literature they had nothing to contribute to the participation. The consequence, she concluded, was students' frustration and disappointment.

Fifthly, the Chinese tradition pays much more attention to written discourse than the discourse of oracy and participation (Pennycook, 1994). The communicative approach adopted by foreign teachers emphasises learner participation and values oral expressions while the Chinese culture "does not necessarily see oral communication as prime, where there is a long tradition of the valuing of written language" (Holliday, 1997, p. 415). One of the reasons that foreign teachers' teaching in China were accused of being unsystematic, disorganised, and shallow (SI30, SQ8, SQ45, SQ47, SQ93, SQ95, SQ99, SQ122, SQ274) was the fact that foreign teachers put much emphasis on learner participation and ignored the importance of written discourse. The Chinese students were accustomed to text-oriented teaching modes and to the quantifiable measuring of their progress by the coverage of textbooks (Brick, 1991; Orton, 1990). It seemed to them that systematic knowledge was embedded in the textbook and could be transmitted to the students by the teacher's careful and detailed explanations (SQ:P2:S3:Q1-6). Involving students in group work seemed to waste their time that was needed for internalising linguistic forms (SI8, SI9, ST39). Foreign teachers did not use textbooks, because textbooks were seen as an obstacle to teachers' classroom creativity and spontaneity in interactive classes (FTI5, FTI6, FTI8). Learning without textbooks gave students a sense of insecurity and anxiety (SI3, SI8, SI12). Teaching without any handouts or texts denied the students the opportunity to enhance the visual picture of linguistic and lexical forms and thus constrained the students' linguistic internalisation.

Chinese emphasis on the use of textbooks (Lin, 1995; Li & Gu, 1995) and visual processing, rather than verbal skills, in learning may be associated with Chinese orthography in which form and meaning are closely related (Hoosain, 1986; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a) and readers' comprehension relies heavily on visual spatial information in the printed texts (Chen, 1996). According to Hoosain (1986), Chinese students' visual discrimination and space conceptualisation are better than their verbal ability. Gao et al.

(1996) have traced Chinese students' relatively poor verbal skills to the deeply-ingrained Chinese traditional cultural value -- the hierarchical teacher-student role relationships in which students are expected to listen to rather than to ask questions and to challenge the teacher, and as a result, speaking skills are rarely given any attention.[8] Liu (1986) agrees that in the process of enacting their cultural norms, such as the respect-for-the-superior rule, the memorise-lessons rule, and the practise-skill rule, Chinese students seem to develop a weaker and less smooth verbal and ideational flow than that of Westerners, but they excel in the performance of language learning and mathematics that require memorisation and skill practice.

Here lies a pragmatic paradox: the Chinese students are weak in verbal abilities and so teaching is assumed to be necessary to promote such abilities; at the same time, because they are weak in their verbal abilities, they are likely to resist teaching techniques that emphasise verbal participation in which their weakness is exposed. While the pervasive cultural values remain unchanged, the paradox, a source of the tension, seems irreconcilable.

Sixthly, the discourse of learner participation tends to emphasise learning the language through use and for use (Orton, 1990). Such a concept seems to contradict the fact that English is taught as a subject in China rather than as a mere instrument for communication. As a disciplinary subject, every aspect of the language is to be studied thoroughly, for example: lexicology, phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse, stylistics, and literary conventions. The discourse of oracy and learner participation seems to emphasise a very narrow aspect of language-- oracy, and ignores the fact that Chinese students need more than that. Some foreign teachers may have failed to realise that the goal of the through-use-and-for-use tenet can be achieved not only through conversations, but also through other learning strategies, such as listening to lectures (especially given by native speakers, as understanding what native speakers say is one of the learning priorities) and tapes, reading texts, watching videos, in a process in which a lot of active and meaningful interactions and negotiations take place between the learner and the teacher, the writers, and the events. A high level of language proficiency may not be reached without a sizeable and meaningful linguistic and cultural intake (Wang, 1986; Pica et al., 1989).

---

[8] I did not realise there was such a vast gap between Chinese and Western values until one day an Australian teacher, who was teaching my daughter ESL, pointed out to me that my daughter should have learned to ask questions. She felt it was her utmost responsibility to develop my daughter's verbal competence, assertiveness, autonomy and confidence because she was convinced that without speaking skills, it would be difficult for my daughter to cope with social demands.

In addition, learner participation often required students to interact by using only very basic and limited English expressions and vocabulary (STI12), as was the case in the teaching of foreign teachers whose judgement of the students' language proficiency was based on their identification of the students' weak communicative competence. This perception served as a guide to select teaching methods that are targeted at a very low level of demand. As a result, in the perception of the students, foreign teachers, interested in group interaction, often under-estimated the actual level of students' language proficiency (SI1, SI3, SI7, SI12, SI40). Learning became "painful" (SI3, L126) since what foreign teachers provided was far below the students' actual language proficiency (SI40). Classroom activities that are targeted to a level lower than students' actual level of proficiency are unlikely to enhance learning (McLaughlin, 1995). A considerable literature suggests that students benefit most from the instructional input that contains linguistic features that are targeted at a higher level than their current stage of development (Spada, 1997; VanPatten, 1994; Pienemann, 1984; Ellis, 1994; Krashen 1994). It is natural for any foreign language learner to be weak in oracy at the very early stage of learning, due to the lack of sufficient linguistic and cultural exposure[9]. But this does not mean the emphasis on oracy and conversation is a panacea for the problem.

There exists a gulf between what foreign teachers emphasised in the classroom and the institutional and social expectations exemplified in the externally-set state examinations, the TOEFL, and the GRE (Graduate Record Examination), which require a very high command of the linguistic forms, grammatical structures and an extensive range of vocabulary. Over-emphasis on oracy and participation also tends to deprive students of opportunities to enlarge their vocabulary, which becomes an obstacle in every turn of their learning.

Good language learners are usually the ones who have large vocabularies (Moran & Williams, 1993). It is difficult to expect a learner with a very small vocabulary and lexical collocations, and restricted grammatical knowledge to cope with normal communicative interactions (Bahns, 1993; Laufer & Nation, 1995). According to Aitchison (1993), English-speaking children need to possess a critical mass of 20,000 potentially useable English words in order to grasp adult-world information, and the average educated English-speaking adult has a large vocabulary of more than 50,000 potentially useable words. If proper and compound words are included, the pool of potential vocabulary increases to 111,000 (Goulden et al., 1991). When phrases, idioms, slang and collocations are added, the list can more than double. To the Chinese learners, to acquire near-native vocabulary seems to be a Herculean task. If they want to become English language professionals, they are expected to have such a stock of vocabulary. That is, in their four years (1,460 days) in the university, every day they have to learn and remember, without any failure, between 14 and 75 or more new potentially useable English words in order to reach the near-native level of English-speaking children or educated adults respectively. This number could almost double because the students do not stay at university all the year round and they do not study English only. The data indicate that a very large proportion of Chinese students (98%, SQ:P3:Q1) considered memorising new words and phrases to be very important and yet very difficult. More than half of them (58.6%, SQ:P2:S2:Q8) believed that the amount of memorised vocabulary was an indicator of one's language proficiency and nearly two thirds of them (61.1%, SQ:P2:S2:Q7) were certain that more memorised linguistic knowledge could lead to higher competence in using the language. The oracy discourse does not seem to meet such learner needs and expectations.

---

[9] In spite of their years of learning in secondary schools, their linguistic knowledge is very limited. Before their arrival at the university, they are required to know only about 2,000 English words (*Gaodeng Xuexiao Yingyu Zhuangye Jichu Jieduan Yingyu Jiaoxue Dagan* [*English Curriculum for Tertiary English Majors at Basic Levels*], 1990)

Seventhly, while emphasising the process of communication, some foreign teachers may have ritualised their teaching, with a notion that teaching might be incomplete without group work and classroom discussions, without thinking whether the process could lead to the desired outcomes (SI9, L100-101). In SI1's (L54) view, foreign teachers put too much emphasis on the learning process and spontaneity to attend to how the students felt and responded. Such teaching, by involving students in conversations and participation, tended to disorient the students (SI7, L95-101) and led to student frustration. SI9 (L95-97) felt unhappy because she did not know what the foreign teachers were doing and intended to do, and as a result, she said, "To tell the truth, I have learned nothing from them." Foreign teachers' teaching was believed to be so spontaneous and yet so unsystematic and incoherent that even foreign teachers themselves did not know what to do in the class (SI30,102-104).

Foreign teachers' emphasis on classroom spontaneity gave students an impression that the class was totally disorganised without any careful planning or purpose in teaching (SI9, L93-94; SI19, L135; SI24, L102). What was unbearable to the students was that some foreign teachers assessed students' achievements by the degree of participation in the classroom activities (SI7, L125-128). The implication of such assessment is that students' participation is compulsory.[10] Paradoxically, foreign teachers intended to create a democratic atmosphere, only to be perceived as compelling the students to conform to the teachers' discourse of participation (SI2, L62-63; SI8, L196-197; SI10, L170-171; SI11, L198-199) which was deemed as appropriate for children only (SI3, L139-140; SI7, L112-117; SI9, L36-39). In a formal sense, the teachers were not regarded as providing a form of teaching (SI3, L126-130; SI14, L102-104). Teaching with much emphasis on learner participation was believed to have wasted students' time and efforts (SI11, L104; SI23, L23-24), lowered the educational standards and devalued the importance of foreign teacher involvement (SI12, L39-43). Teachers heavily relying on Socratic conversational styles were generally regarded as "irresponsible" or "ineffective" teachers from whom the students found they had learned almost nothing (FTI11, FTI12, CTI5, CTQ33, AI15, SI9).

In the discourse advocated by foreign teachers, they labelled the Chinese students as "passive" and "uncreative" (FTI5, FTI6, FTI7, FTI10), without realising that there were cultural incompatibilities between their judgements and the contexts in which they were working. Forcing students to conform to the teacher's discourse without considering students' learning preferences and age differences failed to engage them in active and creative performances. Here the teacher-student clash is apparent: the foreign teachers tried to promote students' participation in group activities while the Chinese students strongly resisted such teaching techniques (AI12, SI8).

Finally, the rationale of the discourse of oracy and participation is learner autonomy (Ho & Crookall, 1995; Nunan, 1995). Learners are required to be responsible for their own learning while the teacher's role is facilitative rather than authoritarian. This concept seems to contradict the Chinese culture of learning in which the teacher's authoritative role is emphasised (Paine, 1990; Brick, 1991; Gao, 1993; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a). In such a culture, teachers are seen as authorities, transmitters, and arbiters of knowledge (Ho & Crookall, 1995; Orton, 1990; Hong, 1993).

---

[10] Orton (1995) reported that one of her students doing a teaching practicum in Beijing required the students to participate in group work upon which the assessment of students' achievements was based. The students were to conform to what the teacher had prescribed in a discourse that was intended to give students autonomy and democracy.

The data in this survey have shown that a large number of Chinese students believed in teacher authority in knowledge transmission. Approximately two thirds (65.2%, SQ:P1:S2:Q1) of them viewed the ownership of knowledge by teachers as most important. Most of them (77.4%, SQ:P1:S2:Q2) maintained that a teacher without authority could not gain students' trust. More than two thirds of the students (66.9%, SQ:P1:S2:Q3) held that a teacher's authority should not be questioned and challenged. Foreign teachers' attempts to give students autonomy and responsibility for their own learning were perceived by the Chinese students as abandonment of the students and an abdication of responsibility, and as a failure to fulfil their role expectations (SI8, SI9, for example). The role confusion tended to demotivate rather than motivate students in learning, and made them feel negatively about the learning tasks set by foreign teachers (CTI4, CTI7, AI15). The teachers' culture of teaching and the students' culture of learning diverged so sharply that there did not seem to be any "converging point" (CTI1, L46). Neither foreign teachers nor Chinese students seemed to become aware of the internal conflicts deriving from disparities in expectations had kept them apart and prevented them from crossing the cultural divide.

The findings of this research support the research by other scholars and researchers in terms of learner participation as emphasised in the communicative approach, which has recently become a controversial issue (Firth & Wagner, 1998; Holliday, 1997; Bartelt, 1997; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Pennycook, 1994; Prabhu, 1987, 1990; Nayar, 1989). There is no hard evidence to prove that "learner participation is crucial for successful L2 acquisition" (Ellis, 1991, p. 45), or that the communicative approach is superior to other teaching approaches (Bartelt, 1997). The discourse of learner participation needs reconsideration, especially when it is enacted in Chinese cultural contexts (Holliday, 1997; Wan, 1997; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Craig, 1995; Scollon & Scollon, 1995; Pennycook, 1994; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). Kumaravudivelu (1993) points out, "In reality, however, such a communicative classroom seems to be a rarity" (p. 12). Communicative teaching, which does not lead to new linguistic knowledge, wastes students' learning potential and generates fossilisation (Johnson, 1992). The notion of learner participation, Holliday (1997) argues, "constitutes an ethnocentric technical discourse of power which is potentially destructive" (p. 209). The communicative approach, a product of Western values, becomes problematic in many other recipient countries where traditional formal foreign language instruction is the dominant mode of teaching (Bartelt, 1997; Maley, 1985).

It seems that Chinese students and foreign teachers did not share a common "agenda" and they seemed to fail to respect each other's differences. I wish to use Stevick's (1980) analogy to indicate the importance of teacher-student cooperation and mutual understanding, without which teaching may not achieve the expected results:

> Teaching and learning are two men sawing down a tree. One pulls and then the other. Neither pushes, and neither could work alone, but cutting comes when the blade moves toward the learner.
>
> At least that's how it should be. If the teacher pulls while the learner is still pulling, they work against each other and waste their strength. If in her zeal to help the learner, the teacher pushes, then the blade will buckle, rhythm will be broken, both will become disheartened. (as cited in Flynn, 1982, p. 37).

The discourse of oracy and participation, which was strongly resisted at least by some Chinese students, in spite of foreign teachers' good intentions and the impeccable rationale embedded in the teaching activities, led to negative responses from students whose culture of learning does not seem to include this discourse in the learning and teaching repertoire. Failure to understand the rationale of the discourse of oracy and participation, and failure by the students to see the benefits from the discourse which were sought by the foreign teachers led to inevitable learner resistance.

To sum up, many foreign teachers in China made attempts to improve students' communicative competence by promoting learner participation in group work and discussions. There existed many constraints on foreign teachers' attempts to implement the Socratic teaching styles, such as the class size, Chinese social contexts (fierce competitions among students), the Confucian influences in personality characteristics and in teacher-student hierarchical relationships, learner autonomy, the traditional Chinese emphasis on written discourse, and Chinese treatment of English more as a disciplinary subject than as a pure tool for communication. It was pointed out that learner participation might be appropriate in certain aspects of the language but not applicable in all cases.

Learner participation tended to emphasise learning process at the expense of the actual outcomes. Chinese students could not see the benefits of the discourse and therefore responded negatively to it. Chinese students' perceptions, shaped by their cultures of learning, seemed to have hampered foreign teachers' efforts to act as agents of change. The introduction of Western teaching methods became problematic. The problems derived from these perceptions might have been resolved if there had been a pervasive discourse in favour of educational change. In fact, many unfavourable variables in relation to the administrative discourse have prevented the creation of such a discourse. This argument will be taken up in the following section.

5.5 *Institutional Paradigms*

Chinese administrators' decision-making processes, guided by their own value judgement and their conceptions about language learning and teaching, restricted by many internal and external constraints, led to difficulties in recruiting highly qualified and competent foreign language experts. This section will investigate the consequences of the native-speaker fallacy embraced by Chinese administrators, as well as some pragmatic constraints such as the problem of interpreting Western credentials, and foreign teachers' perceived superiority, all contributing to foreign teachers' lesser achievements in their teaching in China.

Foreign teachers, as double agents of change (McGroarty, 1995) for both linguistic expertise and pedagogical innovations, are expected to assist China in upgrading its educational system to conform to Western educational standards (Deng, 1987; Xu, 1990; Chen, 1998a, 1998b; 1998c). Conceptual change, according to Li Lanqin, the Chinese Deputy Premier (1998), is the key to achieving the goal. To effect positively conceptual changes in education is the primary institutional goal of the employment of foreign teachers (AI1, AI5, AI6, AI11). The awarded title of "Foreign Experts" reflects the high Chinese expectations inherent in achieving such a goal. With high social status, deference, and special privileges, foreign teachers, serving as cultural, linguistic, and interactional role models, are expected, in their mission, to help Chinese students and teachers to improve their language competence. As a result, cultural and linguistic imperialism come about as a result of invitation rather than forceful imposition (Abbott, 1992).

However, whether a positive change can occur or not depends largely on the administrative decisions as to who are to be employed, what and how they are going to teach, and how their teaching outcomes are assessed. Those decisions, in turn, are affected by the administrators' conceptualisation about language teaching and learning, and most importantly, by their perceptions of change and their intentions to change. If the foreign teacher is seen and used as an agent of change, as an *expert* in the area, and as a part of the institution, then the recruitment must be focused on those who are qualified, experienced, and expert in the field. If a teacher is seen only as a dispenser of linguistic knowledge, any native speaker with a university degree (be it a degree in chemistry, biology, engineering, fashion designing, or computer sciences) -- as required by superiors -- is likely to be employed to teach the language. The proportion of those with relevant qualifications and those without, the data (see Chapter Four) have shown, is 10:14. That is 41.7% of foreign teachers held relevant qualifications while 58.3% of them did not. The qualified and experienced foreign teachers were believed to have played an important role in the change process in China and established a very positive image through their successful teaching (AI8, AI11, AI12), but they were difficult to recruit (AI10, AI11, CTI8). The other group was viewed as having done disservice to ELT in China and damaged the image of foreign teachers (FTI3, FTI4, FTI11, FTI14, AI6, AI7, AI15, CTI4, CTI8, SI8, SI40).

As I have pointed out in Chapters Two and Four, the Chinese Central Government has paid serious attention to the employment of foreign teachers to assist China in its ELT programs and each year large sums of foreign currency have been allocated for the employment of foreign expertise (AI1, AI2, AI3, AI6, AI7, AI8). Very strict regulations in regard to the quality of the employment have been stipulated (AI6). But in the selection process, the government regulations often remain unheeded and problems continue to exist and remain unaddressed. Behind the Chinese recruiting practices, four major problematic dimensions are identified:

- the impact of native-speaker-ideal fallacy
- pragmatic constraints in the employment of foreigners
- confusion in relation to Western credentials
- the perceived superiority of foreign teachers.

These complicating factors have combined to affect the selection and administration, and use of foreign teachers, and consequently the teaching outcomes.

5.5.1 The Impact of the Native-Speaker-Ideal Fallacy

The native-speaker-ideal fallacy (Phillipson, 1992) has taken so deep a root that its validity is rarely questioned. The hegemonic power of the fallacy seems to have justified all the recruitment practices and legitimates foreign teachers' special status in ELT in China. Phillipson (1996) notes,

> The native-speaker-teacher ideal has remained as a central part of the conventional wisdom of the ELT profession. As with many hegemonic practices, there has been a tendency to accept it without question. (p. 27)

The hegemonic power is manifest in the recruitment practices in China. It is not uncommon to find that a PhD in biology or anthropology may be asked to teach linguistics (AI6, AI9) and an MA in designing clothes to teach English literature (SI12). It is worth noting that some of these employed foreign teachers are highly specialised in their own fields, but in language teaching, "many are not really much qualified as teachers at all beyond being native speakers of English" (Mullane, 1984, p. 88).

The fallacy has driven some Chinese administrators into psychological inertia and routine. The employment of foreign teachers has become a procedural formality (AI7). When the employment is routinised as a procedural formality and is seen to produce no more than its symbolic effects -- a sign of openness to the outside world, a sign of the positive reputation of the institution, the involvement of foreign teachers in ELT in the institution becomes meaningless (Pilot Questionnaire, No.2, L8). Nobody seems to care whether foreign teachers are really needed or what kind of foreign teachers are needed (AI6, AI7). There always seem to be vacancies for foreign teachers to fill: Oral English, English and American literature, and English Writing (AI9), in a strong belief that these courses can only be taught by native speakers, regardless of the relevance of their qualifications and fields of study (CTQ46). Being native speakers of English, becomes the sole criterion for the selection (AI6, AI7). Foreign teachers routinely come and go, and the presence or absence seems invisible to the public, in spite of the dazzling title of "Foreign Experts" (CTI10). Money keeps flowing in from the government budget and is spent. The money providers always seem to receive very positive feedback because they never bother to investigate if the money is well spent (AI7), but students' dissatisfaction never abates (AI6, AI7, AI15). A Chinese teacher (CTQ45, L3-5) wrote:

> The recruited [unqualified] foreign teachers, with little knowledge about language and language teaching, fail to perform their expected roles and greatly disappoint the Chinese students.

From this perspective, the involvement of unqualified foreign teachers seems to be a hindrance rather than a help (CTQ5, L4-5). Rarely have the Chinese administrators made an effort to investigate the teaching outcomes of these foreign teachers (AI7, SI40, CTQ46), and to hear the students' voices. Foreign teachers are routinely recruited, given the teaching tasks, and then "dumped" in the classroom, and nobody cares what happens next (FTI1, FTI2; FTI3). Administration becomes a very simplistic matter in this regard (AI6, AI7).

The fallacy deceptively guides Chinese administrators to fit foreign teachers into positions inappropriate to their strong academic advantages. The expertise of some foreign teachers, highly professional in their fields, is often misused. For example, as AI9 (L88-102) reported, the department recruited a foreign teacher with a doctoral degree in anthropology to teach English literature to the postgraduate students majoring in English language and literature. The teacher did not know much about language teaching, learning or English literature, which were not related to his expertise. He instead taught anthropology by using his doctoral dissertation as a textbook, rather than English literature that was required by the department. The students, having failed to see any relevance in his teaching, were frustrated and disappointed. Another foreign teacher (FTI7) from Australia, with a doctoral degree in curriculum design, was asked to teach English literature. Her teaching was perceived as a total failure because she did not know much about English literature (SI29). It can be quite disturbing to be asked to do something that one does not fully understand.

The fallacy however, has also been unquestionably accepted by some foreign teachers and Western ESL/EFL training institutions. For example, FTI11, who was labelled an "unqualified teacher" by the head of the department (AI10, L16), held that "it does not hurt to have a foreigner to help teach the foreign language" (L120). The view seems to narrow the functions of a foreign teacher to being a "talking machine", without any pedagogic, linguistic and cultural awareness (to be discussed in Chapter Six). He did not question whether his role as a teacher was only to pose as a cultural model or a "talking machine" or more than those narrow functions.

In the final analysis, however, the hurt or damage done to ELT in China by those foreign teachers without relevant qualifications has been invited in response to the fallacy, which has obsessed and victimised some Chinese administrators. Positive changes can only be brought about if the "spell" of the fallacy is broken.

5.5.2 Some Pragmatic Constraints in Employing Foreign Teachers

Although foreign teachers are paid many times more than their Chinese colleagues (Ross, 1993; Yang, 1998), their participation in Chinese ELT programs, especially for those who have ongoing positions in their home countries, may mean a loss of a substantial amount of money when compared to those who remain in their former posts in their own countries (Price, 1984)[11]. The salary they receive in China is approximately one tenth of what they can earn in their home countries. While in China, they are still expected to pay back at home the mortgage, insurance, pensions, rates, and maybe other expenses. In addition, those who go to teach in China may risk losing their jobs at home if they stay too long.

Low pay may have prevented many professionals in language teaching, learning and research from venturing onto the China's soil (CTI8). Although there are always people who are willing to venture, the number is very small. Therefore, the range of the selection is often limited to those on their sabbatical leave, on an exchange program, on a missionary mission, or on an exploratory or romantic trip to China, and those undertaking research projects, those fresh from university, and those who are retired. Some universities may have more chances to employ highly qualified teachers than others.

---

[11] According to Price (1984, p.120), the losses at that time could have amounted to AUS$6,000 per annum, and, except for the unemployed and those fresh from universities, the real figure could be higher. This amount would be much greater now.

In spite of the assistance of the British Council (Maley, 1984) and the World Bank (Li Hongwei, 1998), the over-demand has made it difficult to employ highly qualified foreign teachers. In the view of AI15, the chance of employing "good" foreign teachers is approximately twenty per cent. The data suggest that language teaching experts, not "pretenders" (Widdowson, 1992a, p. 338), have achieved much success in their teaching and established a very positive image (AI8, AI12, AI13), but "incompetent foreign teachers waste students' precious time" (CTQ18, L3). Although they are given special privileges and special social status,[12] most "realistic" Western professionals would refuse to undertake the kind of adventure (Porter, 1990). Low pay and lack of channels to access real language experts force some Chinese institutions to employ whoever is available (AI6, AI7). Choosing whom to employ is compounded by the problem of interpreting Western credentials.

5.5.3 Difficulties in Interpreting Western Credentials

Selecting appropriate candidates demands insights and ingenuity on the part of the Chinese administrators. The diversity of qualifying procedures in English-speaking countries often creates problems for the selection of appropriate expatriate teachers. Though many of the Chinese administrators at departmental level have been educated in English-speaking countries, they often have difficulties making their recruitment decisions when faced with the diversity of academic qualifications and professional training in the West. As a result, they unconsciously fall victim to their cultural exclusions while grappling with the intricacies and complexities of certifying procedures, and qualification status relativities and educational qualities. For example, Price (1984) points out that in the United States, "there are a large number of tertiary institutions where the undergraduate courses are of a standard equivalent to that of high schools in Europe" (p. 118). Even in Europe, according to Maley (1992), ELT qualifications in Britain range from zero, through one-week 'taster' courses, or one-month certified courses, to one or two-year MA programs in TEFL and applied linguistics. If these institutions were profit-oriented, Maley (1992) argues, they would be "quite often liable to sacrifice quality for profit, thus compromising 'professional' standards" (p. 97).

---

[12] A foreign expert in China receives approximately 30,000 -- 50,000 yuan per annum, i.e., 6,000 Australian dollars. According to Yang (1998), in Beijing University, one of the most prestigious universities in China, Chinese teachers with doctoral degrees from Western universities receive a salary of about 700 *yuan* a month, without any other sources of income. That is, a Western-trained Chinese scholar receives approximately 17%–28% that of a foreign teacher who might not have a university degree. Moreover, foreign teachers are offered extra benefits, such as free accommodation, free telephone service and electricity bills, an extra one-month salary and free travel in China after twelve-month's service. Such privileges can never be dreamed of by Chinese teachers, at least in a foreseeable period of time.

The quality and the validity of qualifications have caused serious concerns for the Chinese administrators, teachers and students (AI7, AI15, CTI2, CTI7, CTI8, CTI5, CTI8, SI8, SI11, SI12). Insufficient training often prevented these recipients from coping with the complexities in ELT in China (CTI4, CTI6, AI15, SI12). However, even assessing relevant qualifications can be complex. A Chinese teacher (CTI3, L125-129) reported that her institution employed a foreign teacher, in this case one with a relevant qualification, to teach English literature to Chinese teachers. To her surprise, the Chinese teachers knew much more than their distinguished foreign expert. A student (SI23) also expressed his doubt about the validity of foreign qualifications. He said (L117-118), "I begin to suspect if their competence really matches their university qualifications."

In discussing the problems of English-speaking teachers in non-English-speaking countries, Widdowson (1992a) claimed,

> There is something distinctly ridiculous, and embarrassing, in the spectacle of ESOL teachers of minimal educational qualifications and expertise claiming the status of teacher trainers and bringing revelation about ELT to countries with a long and distinguished tradition in the study of language and education. These bearers of good tidings seem to be borne aloft by a belief that ELT as they practise it is some sort of unique mystery distinct from more general principles of language education. It is particularly ironical that Britain should be exporting expertise in the teaching of a foreign language, when its own record in this area is one of the more or less abject failure. (p. 338)

It can be quite disturbing if the highly paid foreign teacher turns out to be a "pretender" rather than an expert, as the awarded title suggests. As the questionnaire responses suggest, two thirds (66.7%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q6) of the foreign teachers surveyed did not believe that the training they had received in the West could help them cope with the difficult and complex situations in China. AI10 (L64-65), the head of a foreign language department, complained that the foreign teachers in his department, though equipped with the necessary qualifications, were very incompetent in teaching. The only thing they could do, he said, was to pose in the classroom as cultural or linguistic models; even as models, they were incompetent, given their lack of sense of commitment to the job. In this light, those foreign teachers' teaching was perceived as an impediment to students achieving their desired goals (CTQ5).

CTI2 (L177-185) attributed Chinese students' unhappiness and disappointment with foreign teachers' teaching to Chinese administrators' inability to select the right people for the teaching positions:

> In the process of selection, what we have is some written work [CVs]. We know very little about the applicants' personal integrity, their teaching competence, and the depths of their professional knowledge. Except for a piece of paper, we do not know if the candidates are the right person for the positions until they arrive.

There exist pragmatic constraints that make it difficult to predict an applicant's professional competence just by looking at the qualifying paper. The decision-making process needs a lot of insights on the part of the Chinese administrators. At the same time, they should know that not all Western qualifications and Western preparation programs fit the diverse conditions of Chinese teaching and learning contexts, i.e., "one size does not fit all" (Henrichsen, 1997, p. 3). This implies that the recruitment process does not end at the point of paper selection. Administrators will need to extend "recruitment" into "induction" once the foreign teacher arrives. However, this raises other issues since the administrators will need to confront the fears of foreign teachers' linguistic superiority to transcend the "otherness" so as to bring the imported foreign expertise into full play, as is discussed in the next chapter.

5.5.4 Foreign Teachers' Perceived Superiority

Foreign teachers' linguistic superiority attracts a high social status and special privileges in China. Not all foreign teachers deliberately assume an air of superiority, although some indeed do (FTI3, FTI4, FI12). To some extent, it is likely to be the Chinese projection that has established a psychological barrier, or what Murray (1982) call the "wall", between them and foreign teachers. In the hierarchical Chinese society (Scovel, 1994; Ho, 1996; Leung, 1996), it seems normatively improper for an inferior to manage and monitor the work of a superior. Such a cultural trait may account for the lack of administration and assessment procedures surrounding the work of foreign teachers in China (CT9). In AI15's view, to manage and monitor foreign teachers' teaching, the administrator and the assessor should possess a more powerful form of knowledge than the foreign teacher, for example, a higher degree from the West. But AI9 found this impossible because the Chinese administrators and Chinese teachers were always in an inferior position in regard to language competence. Administrators' fears and the lack of a monitoring system leave foreign teachers without guidelines about what to do in the classroom and therefore force them to make independent and possibly uninformed decisions. It is the foreign teachers' personal interpretation of the assigned teaching tasks, their individual professional training and judgement, and their sense of commitment to teaching that make differences to the teaching. Those who are responsible, who have received relevant and sufficient professional training, and who have or have been given a sound interpretation of the teaching tasks and students' expectations, may do a much better job than others. Without fair assessment, when those who work successfully and those who work badly are given equal treatment by the host institution, the consequence may be that those who are very responsible in their teaching at the very beginning may slacken their efforts once they recognise that little difference is made between those who are doing well and those who are doing badly (AI7, FTQ4).

Foreign teachers' perceived superiority seems to have deterred the Chinese administrators from any job induction because, as foreign experts, "they know better" (AI9, L6). The data suggest that induction processes did not exist in most host institutions participating in the survey (FTI1, FTI4). The employment seems so routinised to the administrators that they do not have to bother which course is most appropriate for which foreign teacher to teach (AI6). Foreign teachers are routinely asked to teach Oral English, Writing and English Literature, irrespective of their academic strength and relevance (AI9). The Chinese administrators' unclear objectives (AI9, L9-10) may have contributed to foreign teachers' difficulty in making informed decisions as to what to teach, how to teach, and how to cater for the institutional and students' needs that are multifaceted, vague, and undefined. Foreign teachers, left to grapple with the content of the provided textbooks or the concepts of the courses and to work out their own syllabus or to interpret the meaning of the course based on their own understanding (FTI4), have to rely on their own intuition and perceptions to make their pedagogic decisions.

The data have demonstrated that it is not uncommon that some foreign teachers did not know what they were expected to do until class began (FTI1, FTI3, FTI3). A majority of foreign teachers did not even know of the existence of the state-approved curriculum (written in Chinese) and the Band Four and Band Eight examinations[13] administered nation-wide (SI6). As another example, foreign teachers might be asked to teach the "Intensive Reading" course.[14] Chinese teachers do not have much difficulty understanding the meaning of the name, but foreign teachers may find it difficult to decode the meaning and the nature of the course. In such an organisational context, many foreign teachers have to play a game without clear "rules" yet their teaching is constantly evaluated according to invisible, undefined "rules" that these foreign teachers have little knowledge of.

---

[13] "Band Four" and "Band Eight" are examinations -- an imitation of TOEFL and GRE -- held once a year by the Testing Center of the Chinese Ministry of Education to assess students' language proficiency at Year 2 and Year 4 respectively and at the same time to evaluate teaching and administrative effectiveness.

[14] The "Intensive Reading" course, now called the "Integrated English" course, is one of the key courses for English language majors at tertiary levels. It contains passages ranging from 500 to 2,000 words in length. Very often, it is assigned to very experienced Chinese teachers to teach, but on very rare occasions, foreign teachers may be involved in taking up the course (see Orton, 1990, for example).The course is designed not only to develop students' reading competence, but also to promote other learning skills -- writing, listening and speaking, and sometimes, translation if needed -- through the teacher-directed careful analysis of the passages (mostly taken from English and American literature), such as the use of lexical items, collocations, diction, discourse, stylistics, structure, figures, cultural connotations and implications, literary conventions. The course represents typical Chinese transmission styles of teaching which Crook (1990), who has taught English in China for more than 40 years, called the "duck-feeding" teaching style.

My research findings indicate that foreign teachers hold a vastly different view from Chinese teachers and students about the function of the course. Only one out of twelve foreign teachers (FTQ:P3:S3:Q1) believes that the course is the most effective course to promote students' learning while 59.6% of Chinese teachers (CTQ:P3:S4:Q1) and 75.5% students (SQ:P2:S2:Q17) believe that the course is the most effective in promoting students' language competence.

In addition, lack of coordination and administrative support may intensify the problem. As most Chinese administrators at departmental and university levels are academic scholars, they generally lack administrative skills (Cao, 1991; Mahoney, 1990). Unless the Chinese administrators themselves have clear objectives for the employment of the foreign teacher and necessary management skills, and unless a supportive environment is created and the "wall" broken down, foreign teachers' pedagogical innovations in China may not achieve the desired outcomes (FTI4), in spite of the Chinese hospitality and foreign teachers' good intentions. Alienating foreign teachers, though unintentionally, by shelving them in a meaninglessly "superior" position, without any frame of reference, may prevent them from fully maximising their expertise, and consequently, a positive change that the host institution as well as the foreign teachers desire may not be achieved.

To sum up, Chinese administrators' beliefs and assumptions about language teaching, their intentions to bring about change, and their decisions in selecting foreign teachers play a decisive role in affecting the employment of foreign teachers and teaching outcomes in China. A number of unqualified and incompetent foreign teachers have been allowed to take up teaching positions in ELT in China for various reasons. Chinese administrators' obsession with the native-speaker-ideal fallacy may have led to the indiscriminate employment of English-speaking natives regardless of the relevance of their qualifications and experiences at tertiary levels. It was pointed out that the professionals are likely to effect positive change in Chinese ELT, but the non-professionals or "pretenders" tend to do disservice to the profession. Yet there are many pragmatic constraints on employing highly qualified professionals. The diversity of ESL/EFL certifying procedures in the West has baffled the Chinese administrators in the selection process. Though equipped with EFL/ESL certifications, it was found, some English native-speakers were incapable of teaching. Furthermore, the attribution of superiority to foreigner seems to hinder successful communication with Chinese students, teachers, and administrators and thus leads to misunderstandings.

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined the teacher-student clashes derived from different modes of communication, guided by different cultural norms and interpretative systems. Failure to read the meanings of each other's messages has become a source of confrontation between foreign teachers from low-context cultures and Chinese students from high-context cultures. Miscommunication occurred when foreign teachers and Chinese students, unconsciously and unintentionally, breached each other's cultural norms and protocols. The participants' differing cultural shaping created a gap and led to communication problems, and the problems became intense as they often failed to respect each other's differences and take a step further to examine and question their cultural values, beliefs and assumptions. The cultural gap made it difficult for foreign teachers to identify, anticipate, and address learner needs and expectations which, culturally constructed, often remained unclear to foreign teachers. Matching students' diverse needs and expectations often became problematic. Mismatching resulted in Chinese students' negative responses and disappointment. Consequently, and finally, foreign teachers' teaching was increasingly negatively correlated with students' satisfaction as the length of exposure increased.

The chapter pointed out the distinctions between ESL and EFL and argued that differing teaching and learning contexts require different teaching methodologies and that it would be pedagogically naive to directly transplant the models developed in ESL contexts to EFL contexts. Differences in contexts, learning objectives and goals, and career orientations have to be acknowledged. Direct pedagogical transference has often failed to achieve the desired outcomes.

It was argued in the chapter that Chinese students, having been socialised in the Chinese cultural norms, differed widely from foreign teachers in their epistemological attitudes. Noticeable in this survey were cultural incompatibilities and discrepancies in expectations as shown in the discourse of oracy and learner participation. The discourse, derived from Western educational philosophies and socio-cultural contexts, became a potential source of teacher-student conflicts. Unable to see the benefits in the discourse that foreign teachers had intended, Chinese students often failed to find its relevance to their learning needs, and as a result interpreted the teaching that emphasised the discourse as a non-standard form of teaching and a waste of time.

Finally, the chapter looked into the administrative area and some pragmatic constraints that seem to have influenced the Chinese employment policies and the selection procedures. These constraints, such as the enormous influence of the native-speaker-ideal fallacy, the diversity and complexity of Western certifying qualifications, and foreign teachers' perceived superiority, have all prevented Chinese administrators from consistently and exclusively employing highly qualified and competent professionals who, unlike those "pretenders" who have damaged the reputation of the profession, could make a substantial difference to the ELT standards in China.

The problems identified in this research have contributed much to negative responses from Chinese teachers, students, and administrators. From a dialectical point of view, conflicts can bring about not only negative but also positive results. How to resolve the problems that have been identified and how to manage conflicts and challenges becomes pivotal in maximising foreign expertise for the benefit of the ELT profession in China. This issue will be explored further in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

WAYS FORWARD

This chapter explores two dimensions of possible solutions to the problems identified in Chapters Four and Five. They include both linguistic and cultural dimensions. In the linguistic dimension, the chapter points out that foreign teachers need to have language awareness to understand and analyse the language system of English, including the grammatical system, lexical and textual systems, and literary conventions, registers, and stylistics. In the cultural dimension, the chapter proposes making use of "border pedagogy" (Giroux, 1992) as a means to transcend the constraints and help the participants to create collaborative and "mosaic" cultures in which cultural boundaries can be crossed and blurred and mutual understanding, trust, and confidence can be enhanced. Border pedagogy attempts to accommodate differing and conflicting concepts, ideologies, interests, and differences, in an endeavour to examine, question, test, and reshape the existing values and beliefs through the adoption of a reflective approach and through the establishment of a collaborative culture to explore convergence and minimise the negative effects of divergence and to maximise the use of foreign expertise. It is argued that an ideal English language teacher is expected to develop linguistic, cultural and pedagogical awareness in his/her teaching practice in the Chinese classroom. At the same, the concept of "border" crossing also requires all Chinese participants to be culturally aware of their own performance and that of foreign teachers.

6.1 Language Awareness

This section will explore the significance of teacher's language awareness in language teaching. It will be argued that all English language teachers need to develop insights into the English language operating system, such as its grammatical structures, lexical and textual systems, and literary conventions. Teachers' language awareness is believed to play a critical role in helping students to develop their ability to analyse the language and their ability to apply their acquired linguistic knowledge to communicative purposes.

The research literature in language learning and teaching has provided theoretical and pedagogical insights into the constructs of "consciousness-raising" (Rutherford & Sharwood Smith, 1985), "language awareness" (Nicholas, 1991; Bolitho, 1988; Wright & Bolitho, 1993, 1997; Savignon, 1992; Jaworski, 1995; Ellis, 1995), "explicit" and "implicit" instruction (Ellis, 1994), and "form-focused instruction" (Spada, 1997). This research literature has acknowledged that communicative competence is impossible without the learner's linguistic competence (Widdowson, 1992a, 1992b; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Hall, 1997; Holliday, 1997). EFL learners are expected to be able to encode and decode messages of communication, to process, comprehend, store, and retrieve these messages for communicative use (Pica, 1995), i.e., to be aware of, and to be able to analyse, the language system, and to use it communicatively (Widdowson, 1992b). In order to achieve such an objective, Bialystok (1985) contends, two skill components need teachers' careful consideration:

> the ability to analyse knowledge into explicit, structured categories, thus revealing relational as well as structural properties of the knowledge, and the ability to select and apply information in the solution to specific problems, particularly under constraints such as time or distracting context. (p. 256)

Bialystok (1985) argues that language analysis will enable learners to "manipulate those form-meaning relationships to create particular structured use of language" (p. 257). Thus, Savignon (1992) suggests,

206

> Language awareness includes recognition of linguistic resources and an understanding of how language is used to negotiate and create meaning. Language awareness includes recognition of the forms and manner of discourse and an understanding of language power. (p. 104)

Language learners are expected to have such a language awareness. Advanced adult language learners, for example, are generally clear about their perceived preferences and expectations in learning (Bialystok, 1985). They tend to adopt an analytical approach and consequently pay sufficient attention to the grammatical form(s), linguistic code, usage, accuracy, skill-getting, decontextualisation, and structured and systematic linguistic interaction (Celce-Murcia,1985, 1997; Stern, 1993; Bialystok, 1985).

If learners are required to acquire an ability to analyse the language and to understand the language operating system, there is no doubt that teachers should also have such an ability, or a much better ability than their students. If learners are to be made aware of structural regularities or irregularities and formal properties of the target language which will increase their rate of language acquisition (Celce-Murcia, 1997; Orton, 1984), it is also reasonable to expect language teachers, native or non-native, to be aware of the language system and the actual process of *what* teachers do in the classroom, *how* they do it and *why* they do it (Moore, 1984). Language awareness will enable teachers to adopt appropriate teaching methods to help students achieve learning objectives. Otherwise, students may be "ideologically, pragmatically, and motivationally opposed to the strategy" (Bialystok, 1985, p. 260) used by teachers.

Being a native speaker is not necessarily a license to teach the language. A language teacher is trained rather than born to be. Language analysis, one of the most important language teaching components, requires teachers' awareness of the language learning process and the structure and usage of the language. It also requires professional training (Phillipson,1996). In language teaching, it is the teacher's linguistic expertise, rather than speaking competence, that will facilitate language learning. Rampton (1996) is right in pointing out,

> But if you talk about expertise, then you commit yourself to specifying much more closely the body of knowledge that students have to aim at. Learning and teaching become more accountable. In addition, the notion of expert shifts the emphasis from

> 'who you are' to 'what you know', and this has to be a more just basis for the recruitment of teachers. (p. 15)

Language teachers need the relevant expertise, skills, and knowledge about language to empower them to accomplish various tasks, such as lesson planning, learner needs assessment, content of teaching, materials selection, syllabus and curriculum designing, and assessment of learner performance (Moore, 1984; Freeman, 1989; Wright, 1991; Wright & Bolitho, 1993). Price (1984) sets out some basic conditions for prospective foreign teachers in China:

> - they have a native sensitivity to, and training in, language *register*, both oral and written;
> - they can understand, and teach, implied meanings, figurative use of language, and the connotations by which meaning is communicated;
> - as native speakers of one dialect of English (British/Australian/American and their sub-dialects) they should be aware of the differences of usage and pronunciation which stem from this source;
>
> But
>
> - they will have varying acquaintance with English literature;
> - they will have varying experience of an understanding of the various subcultures of the country from which they come. (p. 115)

These conditions require teachers' awareness of how language works – the grammatical system, the lexical system, literary conventions, and textual systems. Language awareness may give teachers an ability to help students "deal with learners' inevitable difficulties in mastering the language" (Wright & Bolitho, 1997, p. 162), and to provide learners with accessible information about the language, the content of learning activities, and linguistic focus in any particular lesson (Wright, 1991). The awareness triggers attention to the language, the subject matter, classroom activities, students' response, their levels of language proficiency, appropriate teaching methodologies, and cultural contexts (Gower, 1988; Freeman, 1989; Widdowson, 1993).

An untrained and unqualified native speaker, who has some degree of literacy, may not have the language awareness that is essential in language teaching. Phillipson (1996) comments:

> The untrained or unqualified native speaker is in fact potentially a menace because of ignorance of the structure of the mother tongue, ... there are indeed strong grounds for concern about the deficient metalinguistic awareness of any under-trained native speaker: many of the products of the British education system recruited into ELT apparently do not know much about their language. (p. 26)

Phillipson's criticism may be applicable in the Chinese ELT situations where some who do not know much about the English language system have been employed as "experts" in Chinese tertiary institutions even though their teaching in China leaves much to be desired. As pointed out in Chapters Two and Five, some Chinese administrators held the notion that as long as one can speak the language, he/she may be able to teach it. This native-speaker ideal fails to acknowledge the gulf between user competence and teacher competence (Edge, 1988; Wright, 1991; Phillipson, 1992). One's ability to speak the language does not guarantee that one is competent in teaching the language. The confusion of user competence with teacher competence appears to be one of the many diverse and complex causes of the flow of unqualified foreign teachers into ELT in China.

Some foreign teachers' lack of linguistic awareness and ability to analyse the language was particularly apparent in teaching English literature since this requires teachers' mastery of both the language system and literary conventions (FTI1, FTI4, AI8, AI10, CTI3, SI10, SI12). The use of literature, dealing with "the cultural and linguistic interface" (Shanahan, 1997, p. 168) through linguistic and stylistic analysis (Widdowson, 1984; Gower, 1986; Carter & Long, 1991), can help students develop their interpretative and critical capabilities and linguistic and cultural sensitivities (Shanahan, 1997; Li, 1998a). Such a facilitative role, however, has not been easily fulfilled because some foreign teachers lack such analytical and interpretative abilities (AI15, L100-107). Lack of language awareness has barred some foreign teachers from effective teaching and led to their over-emphasis on group work and discussions, in which they shift the burden, under the guise of learner autonomy, to the students whose limited exposure to Western culture makes learning under these circumstances extremely difficult. Their "surface" teaching --

not knowing what they teach[1] -- has thus become one of the potential causes for learner resistance. The following report by SI29 (L71-82) about a foreign teacher of English may support this argument:

> I feel that we have been cheated. Her teaching is far from our expectations. I have begun to doubt the teacher's knowledge structure and teaching competence. ... She does not have anything to offer. There is a Chinese saying, "If you want to give students a cup of water, you must have a bucket of it." For example, the old lady this morning was teaching *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer. I think there must be something profound and valuable in the poem that we did not know. But she repeatedly told us that the most important thing was to understand the sound of the poem, not the meaning. She said meaning was not important. We learned nothing in her class. I soon realised that she, like us, did not know anything about literature at all. She has come to cheat us.

The Chinese students had little exposure to English literature, which covers a wide range of areas such as history, geography, politics and economy, values, tradition, and culture. Foreign teachers can play a significant role in helping the students to analyse the literary pieces from a literary point of view so as to ultimately unravel linguistic patterns. The foreign teacher mentioned here could have told the students why the sound was important, how and through what literary devices and conventions the literary effects (such as humour and sarcasm) were achieved, how the sound contributed to the total meaning of the poem, how each persona was portrayed (i.e., characterisation), why the poem was important in English literature, why Chaucer was claimed to be the "father" of English literature. The teacher did not seem to understand such expectations. She did not seem to be aware of the language system which she was teaching. The student's questioning of the teacher's incompetence in teaching did not sound unreasonable.

Lack of language awareness could lead to the teacher's failure to understand students' learning difficulties because teachers themselves may not know what is to be taught. Some foreign teachers' linguistic and literary poverty may have resulted in their use of particular coping strategies: mechanical reading and excessive use of games, group activities, discussions and debates. SI24 (L124-134) complained that she did not learn anything from the foreign teachers who used photos and pictures from magazines as their major teaching materials. Such teaching, without providing students with sufficient linguistic input, SI26 (L143-144) stressed, was more detrimental than helpful to learning. Learning with foreign teachers who were unaware of their own language system, CT17 (32-33) was sure, was a waste of time.

---

[1] This is not rare among other foreign teachers. Li (1998a) observed that the foreign teacher who was teaching "Kubla Khan", a poem by Coleridge, did not understand the meaning of the poem and ignorantly rejected it as a meaningless poem.

The discussion so far has raised questions in relation to both teacher training programs in the West and Chinese recruiting orientations. ESL teacher training programs in English-speaking countries tend to emphasise what Pennycook (1989) calls the "Method concept"(p. 609), or "techniquery" in Gower's (1988, p. 22) terminology. This approach is obsessed with teaching methodologies, procedures, and techniques. The concept, involving "a bag of tricks" (Duff, 1988, p. 111), operates with a notion that all methods will work in all situations. The Method concept emphasises the omnipotent power of teaching methodologies with little attention to language awareness, cultural compatibilities, relevance, differences in cultures of learning, values, traditions, students' lived experiences, and the politics that underlie the social fabric of teaching (Tedick & Walker, 1994; Widdowson, 1993; Bolitho, 1988; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Pennycook, 1994). The concept ignores the fact that it is the language which the learner is expected to acquire. The teachers' wide range of linguistic knowledge is no less important than teaching methodologies. Though armed with teaching methodologies, some foreign teachers have not been very successful in their teaching in China, because of their lack of awareness of pedagogical incompatibilities and their lack of language awareness. In fact, language awareness can provide teachers with insights into pedagogical decisions, rather than otherwise. It is difficult for someone to *teach* something that he/she does not know much about, in spite of the "tricks" from the training.[2]

The implication in the discussion is that teachers' linguistic awareness is one of the priorities in language teaching. Linguistic awareness will enable teachers to make informed decisions in selecting teaching materials, learning content, and appropriate teaching methodologies. However, teaching and learning are socially and culturally situated (Holliday, 1994a, 1994b; Widdowson, 1993; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Hall, 1997; Ainscough, 1997; Prus, 1997). Linguistic knowledge alone does not guarantee pedagogical success, especially in intercultural communications where sensitivities towards fundamental concepts derived from values and beliefs systems are of critical importance. The following section will examine the importance of building a cultural synergy based on border pedagogy in which different ideologies, concepts, and views can be accommodated.

---

[2] For example, my daughter was unfairly criticised by her maths teacher in an Australian primary school. The teacher pointed out my daughter's "error" in calculation because my daughter gave a "wrong" answer to the question: 50 - 46. My daughter's answer was 4 but the teacher insisted that it was "wrong." The teacher corrected my daughter's "error" by calculating by using her fingers: 50, 49, 48, 47, 46, or the other way round, 46, 47, 48, 49, and 50. Five fingers were used. The answer, therefore, according to the teacher, was

6.2 Border Pedagogy

The survey data have indicated that there exists an invisible boundary between Chinese students and foreign teachers in their interpretation of their individual roles and role expectations. Each seems deeply involved in their own interpretation of the pedagogic worlds based on their cultural values and perceptions. The notion that all participants will be able to recognise the benefits of innovations is misleading because it fails to see the cultural influences on the beholders' interpretative systems (McGroarty, 1998; Prus, 1997; Olson, 1992; Geertz, 1973; Nunan, 1996; Craig, 1995; Louden, 1992; Cortazzi, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a, 1996b). Therefore, there should be a pedagogic device to help the participants to cross the invisible border formed by differing perceptions, subjectivities, and interpretations (Prus, 1997).

Giroux (1992) uses "border pedagogy"(p. 28) as a pedagogic device to cope with learner resistance to pedagogic innovations in cross-cultural settings. Border pedagogy serves to mediate teachers' personal theories and the educational philosophies of the local culture in a process in which teachers and students become border crossers in order to understand and transcend "otherness" and to further expand their visions by extending their own borderlines, by recognising "epistemological, political, cultural, and social margins that structure the language of history, power, and difference," by making visible the historically and socially constructed frames and discourses, by reshaping their new

---

5. My daughter was emotionally hurt as the teacher refused to give in even when the calculator had proven the teacher wrong.

identity in their existing cultural configurations, and by empowering students to "draw upon and investigate their own cultural resources and investigate other knowledge claims" (Pennycook, 1990, p. 311). In the process of border crossing, teachers play a primary role in reaching out to students and taking a further step to understand the student's culture. McLaughlin (1995) emphasises that it is "professionally irresponsible"(p. 112) to assume that only students had to adapt and accommodate while academics insist on maintaining their positions. Border pedagogy encourages Chinese students to accommodate new concepts and to explore new alternatives and new approaches that may promote their learning. Teachers and students should adopt new attitudes to reach out to each other and to enter each other's "territory", and ultimately to find a shared interface or solidarity "geared to maximising points of interaction" (Simone, 1989, p. 191), and to "constructing a common background" (Mercer, 1990, p. 68) to facilitate language acquisition.

Of particular significance in Giroux's concept of border pedagogy is the recognition and legitimisation of local cultures, ideologies, cultures of learning, and social practices. Border crossing will allow teachers and students to enter zones of cultural differences rather than remain in the realm of subjectivities. In this light, McLaren (1994) maintains,

> Students must not be constructed as the zombified ideal "always ready" open to manipulation for passive acquiescence to the status quo. We should not forfeit the opportunity of theorising both teachers and students as historical agents of resistance. (p. 213)

McLaren suggests that teachers and students should "create a politics of alliance building, of dreaming together, of solidarity" (p. 213) via border crossing which brings "the laws of cultural representation face to face with their founding assumptions, contradictions, and paradoxes" (p. 214).

Border pedagogy emphasises accommodating capabilities in pedagogic actions. It encourages the establishment of a "cultural synergy" (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; McGroarty, 1998), "the public sphere" (Terres & Morrow, 1998, p. 10), or "the third place" (Kramsch, 1994, p. 257). The fundamental premise of border pedagogy is that as differing values, beliefs, ideologies, interests, behaviours, and socialisations can "affect the ability to reach consensus" (Terres & Morrow, 1998, p. 18), conflicts are inevitable. Managing these conflicts to achieve positive results requires all participants to be involved in a process of interpretation, negotiation, and compromise in a supportive environment. Such a negotiating process is necessary as not all differences or conflicts are bad at all. Some differences and conflicts may be needed to bring about change (Ryan, 1998; Ellsworth, 1997).

Cortazzi and Jin (1996a) proposes that in a cultural synergy, teachers and learners from different cultures are engaged in a process of mutual learning to understand each other's cultural values, beliefs, and role expectations "without loss of their own cultural status, role or identity" (p. 201) by identifying differences in cultures of learning, making explicit the "hidden curriculum" (p. 206), and articulating their expectations of each other. According to Cortazzi and Jin, a cultural synergy emphasises "mutual convergence of cultures of learning or a one-sided convergence provided that both sides have explicit understanding of each other's culture" (p. 201). A synergetic culture encourages the fostering of attitudes to learn, to tolerate, to reflect, to adapt, and to assimilate. At the same time it discourages rigidity and domination (Terres & Morrow, 1998). In the synergetic culture, Cortazzi and Jin (1996a) argue, foreign teachers in China should make attempts to understand the Chinese culture of learning into which Chinese students have been socialised, and to creatively make use of their strengths without abandoning their fundamental values and belief systems. At the same time, Chinese students do not have to give up entirely their core values embedded in the Chinese culture of learning. The result of creating such a cultural synergy, Cortazzi and Jin believe, is that "both sides will gain and neither will lose, culturally" (p. 202). In other words, their cultural horizons are widened rather than just replacing one set of values with another.

The creation of cultural synergy is of particular importance in EFL contexts such as China. The survey data have revealed that only one out of twelve foreign teachers responding to the questionnaire (8.3%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q6) agreed that the training foreign teachers had received in their home countries could help them cope with the complex teaching realities in China. Half of the Chinese teachers (50.0%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q6) confirmed that "Foreign teachers do not know very well how to teach Chinese English learners." Many students (58.0%, SQ:P2:S1:Q17) felt disappointed because foreign teachers' teaching failed to fulfil their expectations. The students' view was confirmed by the response from foreign teachers themselves. Fifty per cent of foreign teachers (FTQ:P2:S1:Q15) recognised that their teaching methodologies had failed to match Chinese learner expectations. At the same time, it was found that Chinese students were unhappy with traditional Chinese teaching methods. Only one third of them (33.4%, SQ:P2:S1:Q15) felt that traditional teaching methods suited them well. Both Chinese and foreign teachers agreed that direct transference of Western teaching methods to the Chinese classroom was unrealistic (82.7%, CTQ:P2:S1:Q1; 66.6%, FTQ:P2:S1:Q1).

The data provided above indicate that it is of critical importance to establish a cultural synergy. The resilience of Chinese teaching and learning environments has made such a cultural synergy possible. Many foreign teachers found that Chinese students were highly motivated in learning English (50%, FTQ:P2:S2:Q5) and their current language learning strategies were very successful (66.7%, FTQ:P2:S2:Q4). A foreign teacher (FTI12, L33-40) was very much surprised to find that,

> My first surprise was how eager, clever, and willing the students were to study the English language scientifically. In other words, they proved to be very excellent students of the language, over, above my expectation. They far surpassed even my best students in the United States in terms of sheer curiosity and interest, and willingness to approach the language as a science and learn it from inside out, and not just the casual learning of the language as something they would pick up in streets. They wanted to know grammatical reasons. For structure they wanted to know the syntax. They wanted to know the structure, and all of the culture and customs behind many of the stories.

He (L50-54) observed that in spite of the poor learning conditions, the students had been learning the language successfully in "a very very fine educational system that taught what they needed to know." He said that he came to China with a "myth" that he could help China modernise its university system, but very quickly discovered that "I had much more to learn than to teach."

Similarly, FTI13 strongly believed that foreign teachers having an attitude of wanting to learn was a prerequisite for success in teaching in China. He (L242-257) advised prospective foreign teachers of English in China:

> I would say one thing is that you come with an attitude to learn and realise that you are as much a learner as your students are or you should be able to learn as your students do. Come in with expectations of observing and learning, and don't come in with the idea that you are going to change the Chinese system, that you are going to change the students, that you are going to show them the right way, come in with an attitude that

> each culture has its different way, and neither way is necessarily right or wrong, but they are just different. That's one thing I say is a very very important foundation. ... So do not come in expecting that you are going to get a red carpet.

FTI13's remark points to the importance of valuing the existing Chinese contexts, respecting differences, challenging one's own existing core values and belief systems, and learning from others. His view is supported by FTI4 (L215-274) in the following statement.

> First of all, I say you are not going to China as a great expert. You are going as someone who can both teach and learn. So you are not going to change China. You are going to operate within the existing Chinese institution. So don't be arrogant. Go with some humility. Go as a learner as well as a teacher. Go as a listener as well as a speaker. Be willing to listen. Don't think what works in your own educational institution is necessarily suitable for working in any of the cultural institutions in any culture, Chinese or anything else.... I think, go and be sensitive, go with respect. And I think these things are true of, I suspect, universal things in teaching. And one of these universals to me is respect. I think if we don't respect our students, no matter what the culture, then our teaching is not as it should be.... I would say, beware of becoming cynical, beware of labelling, see your students as individuals as they are in any class that you teach. ... See what culturally or linguistically the gap is and teach at the appropriate level.... But I think again only in tandem with Chinese teachers, never to have the arrogance to think they can go it alone.

The statements of these two foreign teachers suggest that foreign teachers in China should have an attitude of wanting to listen, to reflect upon what they do, and to explore appropriate teaching approaches to facilitating learning. FTI4 concluded that in importing Western educational theories to China, foreign teachers needed to be aware of the cultural values embedded in the transferred teaching methods and the cultural compatibilities of these methods with Chinese educational philosophies, assessment systems, the students' objectives of learning and their learning preferences and strategies. Therefore, in such an educational context, she (L252-262) noted,

> I don't think we are the total experts. ... So I think a little bit of humility, a willingness to be a resource, expert in terms of resource, but not expert in terms of authority.

FTI12 (L235-236) shared her view by saying that as there existed large "philosophical differences between the foreigners and the Chinese themselves," foreign teachers' cultural sensitivity, pedagogical flexibility and diversity rather than imposition were of great importance in their teaching in China. The arrogant "we've-got-it-right" attitudes (CTI8, L72) are discouraged in border pedagogy.

The mediation through "border pedagogy" challenges existing boundaries of knowledge and pedagogic inertia by creating new references that constitute multi-cultural codes, experiences, and pedagogic devices (Berstein, 1996) which helps the potential discourse to be pedagogised. Border pedagogy calls for teachers' constant exploration, interpretation, negotiation, flexibility and reflection. It may help teachers to avoid ritualised teaching behaviours, to adapt their teaching intuitively and flexibly to the needs of the students and the host institutions, to have a deep understanding of the student culture, and to play an appropriate role in the alien society. The concept of border pedagogy discourages cultural imposition. On the contrary, it encourages practitioners "to open their conceptual and methodological gates and to make 'trespassers' welcome" (Firth & Wagner, 1998, p. 93). As a result, Pennycook (1994) claims that expatriate teachers need to constantly examine their pedagogies to ensure what is pedagogised is meaningful in particular contexts, and that it does not become an imposition. To achieve such a goal, Pennycook (1994) suggests, teachers need pedagogic and cultural awareness to understand and deal with students' subjectivities, their cultural positions, their lived experiences, and the intricacies of different discourses in the local culture. Without such an understanding, border crossing will always remain a problem and the gulf may never be bridged.

Border pedagogy views conflicts in a positive light. Conflicts are seen as opportunities for all participants to examine and question their fundamental beliefs and core values through active and critical reflections (Olson, 1992). What foreign teachers have brought to the classroom is new or alien to the Chinese students, but it also provides opportunities and alternatives for students and it invigorates the life of the Chinese educational system. It is worth pointing out that a pedagogic device introduced from one culture to another is neither neutral nor naturally occurring (Berstein, 1996) and, as a result, ideological and political conflicts are likely (Prabhu, 1996). Conflicts, if well acknowledged and managed, will promote positive change in the existing system by creating a new equilibrium (Ryan, 1998; Li, 1998; Biggs, 1996). Conrad (1972) explains,

> Conflicts can be valuable and productive both for organisations and for their members. For the organisations, conflict can stimulate creative problem solving, generate or publicise superior ideas, and adjust perceived power relationships to better fit the skills and abilities of their employees. For the individuals, conflict can provide opportunities to test, expand, and demonstrate their skills; better understand their organisations; and develop their self-esteem and confidence. If conflicts are limited and controlled and if satisfactory solutions to problems can be found, the total impact of each conflict can be positive. If not, conflicts will be destructive. (p. 257)

A supportive environment for positive conflict management is important in minimising the negative effects. Such an environment, however, cannot be created without multi-faceted involvement and the support of individuals and institutional participants.

It should be noted that the expertise introduced by foreign teachers certainly contains elements of "otherness" (Orton, 1990, p. 9) that may be incompatible with the Chinese current educational practice, philosophies, and cultural norms. The introduction of the outside forces, inevitably, will upset the eco-systematic balance in the belief systems of the Chinese administrators, teachers, and students and place them in a dilemma in the process of assimilation and accommodation. It is a challenge to the existing Chinese system, a challenge that will test the strength of the existing values and beliefs, and a challenge that will promote exploration of additional alternatives.

In dealing with the *otherness*, as the data have demonstrated, Chinese teachers, administrators, and students underwent a slow, constant, conscious and unconscious, painful, and probably invisible process of adjusting, rejecting, evaluating, assimilating, and accommodating the newly imported concepts (CTI1). In such a process, the students had to constantly struggle with their expectations in a chronic state of jubilation, exhilaration, pain, frustration, and disappointment (CTI3, AI11, AI12). Recognition of differences and "otherness" is a step toward critical understanding, and toward assimilation and accommodation. In Olson's (1992) view, "threat teaches us what we value" (p. 8). It is from the conflicted situations that we distinguish between what is valuable and what is worthless. The distinction will help us make informed choices. It is the aspects of "otherness", not the "sameness", that China has longed for as a catalyst in its educational transformation. Direct exposure to foreign teachers' teaching is vital in quickening the process of adaptation and assimilation (AI1, AI11, AI12). The dynamics from "otherness" and challenges will help promote students' intellectual growth and conceptual change.

The claim that differences and "otherness" should be respected, however, does not exclude the attempts to find possible solutions to the problems generated from these differences. Border pedagogy values differences and "otherness", but it also recognises that too much respect for "otherness" may lead to "an excuse for inertia and the maintenance of a status quo" (Widdowson, 1993, p. 271) and to self protective barriers. Border pedagogy attempts to look for convergence through divergence (McGroarty, 1998). Ainscough (1997) believes that over-emphasis on the "otherness" of the socio-cultural contexts may bring "the attendant risk of stereotyping learner characteristics, which may be just as unprofitable as relative ignorance" (p. 572).

Foreign teachers' teaching, shaped by Western cultural values and beliefs, is likely to unsettle the eco-systematic balance by using teaching techniques that are incompatible with the existing Chinese education system. The cultural norms in the system can exercise powerful sanctions against those who are perceived to not comply with the prescribed roles (Breen, 1985). However, it is culture-internal demands that require the transforming of the present Chinese educational status quo by introducing foreign expertise. Chen (1998a), the Chinese Minister of Education, in a recent article in *China's Scholars Abroad*, points out the detrimental impact of traditional Chinese teaching methods._

> At the moment, teaching methods are too rigid, and the cramming and transmission styles of teaching have not fundamentally been changed. Such teaching methods stifle students' sense of creativity and competence and are detrimental to the development of students' individualities and intelligence. (p. 4, my translation)

Challenging the pervasive pedagogical landscape described by Chen can be a daunting task. However, the sweeping discourse of change all over China has made it possible and imperative to introduce foreign expertise to engage China in educational globalisation. It is difficult to imagine how China could stand alone, in its cultural reproduction, without any influence from the outside world where educational globalisation is challenging every aspect of traditional values and assumptions (Carnoy, 1998; Selfe, 1998). In China's attempts to catch up with developed countries, educational globalisation challenges the Chinese existing educational system in which

> The general Chinese educational standards are low and the educational infrastructure, educational concepts and patterns, teaching content and methodologies, all require changes and adaptations in order to meet the needs of economic growth and social development. (Chen, 1998c, p. 4; my translation).

China needs to engage itself with the outside world in order to have a clear understanding of what is happening in other parts of the world (Jiang Zimin, 1999). Globalisation requires China to change its present educational system (Li Lanqin, 1998). Not all Chinese students, however, are aware of what is happening outside the university, let alone outside China. Certain cultural and pedagogical imposition becomes necessary to promote their cultural awareness. In other words, conflicts are an inevitable and necessary part of an educational process. This notion complies with Chinese government imperatives and intentions (see 2.1.1 and 4.1.1) and this accounts for the government's strong determination to employ foreign experts to help China upgrade its ELT standards in China in spite of the many persistent problems. In fact, as many Chinese administrators (such as AI4, AI8, AI11) have argued, ELT standards in China have been greatly improved in the last two decades through China's direct contacts with foreign countries. Such educational achievements can only been seen from a historical perspective because, unlike a market economy where benefits can be measured by precise figures in the short term, "the quantitative and qualitative development of education is measured in the long term" (Jouen, 1998, p. 2). The positive impact of conflicts may not be seen in a short time, but its benefit will become apparent in the future. These considerations lead to the conclusion that the focus on the "otherness" of foreign teachers is, in fact, part of the development of a dimension internal to the Chinese culture.

Understanding foreign cultures will equip the students with alternatives and promote their learning by adopting different learning options. Fossilised learning habits and a poor ability to tolerate new and conflicting conceptions may not lead to border crossing, nor to cross-cultural understandings. The students should actively reach out to foreign teachers and share some part of their "territories". Without such a move, without a cooperative environment, foreign teachers' intentions to cross the border and to transform the status quo may be interpreted as an encroachment. Chinese learners need to develop their cultural awareness and accommodating capabilities (Chen, 1990). Foreign teachers should not be idealised as magicians who could transform students into native-like language users in a short time, and they should not be rejected with a notion that foreign teachers can not teach Chinese students and that Western teaching methodologies do not suit Chinese students. Foreign teachers should not be seen as classroom technicians to transmit a fixed body of knowledge only, but as "transformative intellectuals" (Pennycook, 1990, p. 310) potentially able to bring about positive changes, and at the same time Chinese students should not be seen as receptacles and depositories of transmitted knowledge, but as active agents in the process of transformation.

Foreign teachers and Chinese students, therefore, should make an effort to accommodate each other's views, to tolerate the differences, to narrow the gulf in their fundamental assumptions about teaching and learning, and to find ways to address any problems and misunderstandings. They are, in fact, already partially engaged in crossing the border. Because neither party is aware of the need to cross borders, they fail to share each other's views and come to a mutual understanding through recognising and respecting each other's differences, and through compromises (Edge, 1996). An "alliance" should be formed in which teachers and students derive their interpersonal satisfaction from teaching and learning as well as task accomplishment (Ehrman, 1998), an alliance in which by crossing borders the expectations of each other can be articulated, ideas shared, differences identified, coping strategies sought, and possible solutions to the problems reached.

To sum up, this section has examined the importance of border pedagogy in intercultural settings. The central point of the argument is that as cultural differences and clashes are inevitable, it is essential to create a cultural synergy to accommodate differing views derived from those cultural differences. It was pointed out that both individual and institutional participants need to develop accommodating capacities and cultural awareness so as to be able to identify, recognise, tolerate and respect differences that may be the sources of potential conflicts. It was proposed that differences and conflicts should be viewed in a positive light in that they challenge existing fundamental assumptions and the challenge can provide opportunity for the participants to examine their core values and those of others through inquiry and reflection. The recognition of differences and positive attitudes towards conflicts will contribute to mutual learning, understanding, and constructive cooperation. Critical reflection is of great importance in achieving this aim to help the participants to cross each other's borders. The following section will explore the significance of a reflective approach in border crossing.

6.3 Reflective Approach

While acknowledging respect for difference and "otherness", the cultural synergy discussed in the previous section also recognises the evaluative power in the cultural norms that shape people's interpretative systems. The varied cultural shaping in different cultures creates problems in communication. How to minimise the negative impact brought about by the miscommunication and conflicts becomes an important issue in the development of a synergetic culture. Cultural incompatibilities and conflicts, if not well managed, can be harmful to learning. Managing conflicts requires flexibility, adaptability, reflection and socio-cultural knowledge and it challenges teachers' existing knowledge, beliefs, and identity.

Central to Giroux's "border pedagogy" is the partiality of understanding and knowledge of the cultural borders that are historically, linguistically, socially and psychologically constructed. The partiality requires critical consideration of the limits of all discourses, and denies "all regimes of truth" (Giroux, 1992, p. 29). Awareness of partiality suggests that teachers need a lot of flexibility in their teaching and a lot of learning, listening, inquiry, and reshaping in order to be successful in "moving in and out of borders constructed around coordinates of difference and power" (Giroux, 1992, p. 29). Border crossing is an endless and cyclical process as socio-cultural knowledge can never be complete in intercultural communications (Anderson, 1994). This concept suggests that teachers have to constantly reflect upon their own ideological and pedagogical principles, to enrich, extend, modify these principles through practice, and break the theory-practice divide, and adopt "the notion of informed praxis" (Pennycook, 1990, p.

310) in the implementation of their espoused pedagogy. In addition, border crossing requires the active cooperation and supervision of the host institution to help foreign teachers to acquire socio-cultural knowledge and cross-cultural pragmatics (Austin, 1998) to cope with the diversity and the complexity of the cross-cultural communication. Without such knowledge and pragmatics, border crossing become impossible.

The world is sociologically and epistemologically unknowable (Gadman, 1997). When transferring expertise from one culture to another, expatriate teachers will find that their professional knowledge may reach "professional obsolescence", a term used by Knight (1998, p. 248) to mean the professional deficiency faced by academics in an environment where new knowledge, changed roles and expectations, multi-tasking, and changed socio-cultural contexts demand more than teachers' existing competence can handle. In language teaching, many things remain unknown. Constant learning, explorations and inquiries are necessary to help us make new discoveries and provide new insights. Firth and Wagner (1998) propose a "deficient model" (p. 93) which acknowledges the incompleteness of our knowledge and understanding.

Expatriate teachers, their colleagues and administrators need to examine and question their taken-for-granted "clock logic" (Gadman, 1997, p. 21) which shapes people's ways of thinking in absolute certainty, leaving no room for creativity and differences within the kingdom of the clock. The logic, deeply rooted in people's subjectivities and perceptions, fails to acknowledge the legitimacy of other's perceptions (Maturana & Varela, 1987). In this world where "the only certainty is uncertainty" (Jouen, 1998, p. 2), the clock logic, Gadman (1997) argues, can only lead to "negativity, indifference, and attack" (p. 22). Gadman urges people to move beyond the clock logic to a "reverse logic" by reflecting upon the fundamental beliefs and subsequent behaviours. The reverse logic, in contrast to the clock logic, sees the world without any fixed point of view for belief systems to anchor on, and it "acknowledges that the world we create is both a reflection of our inner patterns of perception and our relationship to the outer world" (p. 26). Gadman proposes a "power partnering" approach based on the reverse logic which involves constant questioning of oneself, one's environment, history, intentions, and contexts, to create a new identity, a new environment, and a new future. Gadman argues that the world people experience is not *the* world where common values, perceptions, or universal truth can be found, but *a* world brought forth together with others. Perceptual conflicts are likely because "what we experience is based on *our* *perception of what is there* rather than *what is really there*" (emphasis in original. Gadman, 1997, p. 28). Gadman's reverse logic calls for the understanding of, and tolerance for, otherness and differences, and of valuing and sharing the contexts which shape, and are shaped by, people's perceptions. As a result, Gadman posits,

> we must search for ways to value one another's perceptions, no matter how undesirable they may appear to us. Simply restating our position or making others wrong isn't going to change things. This is the essence of power partnering. (p. 49)

The notion of power partnering, in contrast to the clock logic, emphasises the valuing of different perceptual worlds and respect for differences. It fights against rigidity and violent imposition.

Rigidity in teaching practices and in teachers' subjectivities is a reflection of the clock logic. Chinese students' negative responses to foreign teachers' teaching, as the data show (see 4.3.2.1, 4.3.2.3), were related to some foreign teachers' clock logic where certain teaching approaches were rigidly applied to the Chinese classroom without thinking whether they were appropriate to the Chinese culture of learning, to Chinese educational philosophy, and to the students' level of proficiency. Rigid teaching can be problematic, especially in cross-cultural encounters in a pedagogical terrain on which the teacher has to cope with the diverse cultural discourses (Giroux et al., 1996). Therefore, a reflective approach to teaching, learning, and management becomes pivotal in pedagogical innovations. Foreign teachers, Chinese students, and administrators need to constantly reflect upon their fundamental assumptions underpinning their performance, and to fight against rigidity and inertia.

Schön (1983) outlines two forms of reflection: reflection-*on*-action and reflection-*in*-action, the former being a deliberate and purposeful act and the latter a spontaneous and subconscious behaviour (Loughran, 1996). The process of reflection, either *in* or *on* action, encourages teachers to view problems from different perspectives, and ultimately to guide them in adopting appropriate teaching approaches and proper communication styles. Reflection allows teachers to think back over their teaching practices, to their "open-mindedness, whole-heartedness, and responsibility" (Loughran, 1996, p. 4), to a reappraisal of their fundamental beliefs and assumptions. This approach, Richards and Lockhart (1994) note,

> is often teacher initiated and directed because it involves instructors observing themselves, collecting data about their own classroom and their roles within them, and using that data as a basis for self-evaluation, for change, and hence for professional growth. (p. ix)

The reflective approach is useful to foreign teachers in China where there exist vast cultural differences. FTI4 (91-102) reported:

> I see teachers coming who are primary or secondary school teachers, middle school teachers, so they have many of the strategies which are really appropriate, but they fail to apply them at the right level. And so they treat tertiary students in the same manner they treat their second-year class in primary schools. Or even secondary teachers who, I think, would operate at the right level, still treat tertiary students as children. And I think this is the greatest problem I have seen, especially with the returned teachers, those who have come back in after ten years of teaching. They come back to learn, to upgrade their English skills, and they are treated like children by foreign teachers. And the students are totally offended by this. I think this has to be a lack of insight, a lack of thinking on the part of the foreign teachers. They just think of the immediate transfer. "This works for me in America, England, and Australia, therefore, it will work in China" -- with no thought of the cultural differences in age, differences in the problems of English as a foreign language.

If the foreign teachers mentioned here had put themselves in the students' situation -- as adult advanced language learners with years of learning experiences, if they had been treated in the same way as they had treated these students, they would have immediately realised the inappropriateness of methods designed for children only. A little reflection upon their teaching and upon students' negative responses might have prevented them from simplistic pedagogical transfer.

The reflective approach requires teachers' awareness of the overarching principles in their teaching, and, most importantly, the appropriateness and applicability of these principles to the local contexts. Forcing students to comply without letting them know *why* can lead to tensions. The following foreign teachers' accounts confirm the necessity of reflection in pedagogic actions. FTI9 (L57-61):

> I find that it is almost impossible to get people to ask questions when it is a big class. I have split my oral classes into As and Bs. Each has an hour. And these classes are roughly ten students in each instead of twenty or twenty-two in one group. This has helped considerably because I can talk to the students on a one-to-one basis.

The teacher, though well-intentioned, failed to ask himself why the students would not ask questions. He might have failed to realise that silence in the Chinese classroom is regarded as a good virtue in the Chinese culture of learning in which individual needs are subordinate to collective interest. In discussing the features of silence in the Chinese classroom, Cortozzi and Jin (1996a) note,

> In China, losing face has a wide social, intellectual and even a moral dimension. It implies selfishness. In the classroom, therefore, a student will try to sense whether the question is in everybody's mind before asking -- this will meet the needs of all. (p. 195)

Asking questions, Cortazzi and Jin point out, can trigger a series of negative connotations as showing disrespect to teacher authority. Too many questions may suggest that the teacher has failed to anticipate learner difficulties by not having carefully prepared the lesson. Making the teacher look foolish because he/she cannot answer the questions is something that Chinese students try to avoid, in order to preserve teacher-student harmony. Besides, interrupting the lesson by asking questions, which may not be of any interest to other classmates, may be interpreted as a waste of other's time. However, just as Cortozzi and Jin report, beneath the mask of the silence, Chinese students engage in very active and creative mental interactions. Western teachers, failing to recognise these invisible mental activities, often think of Chinese students as being passive because such students' mindsets do not conform to Western teachers' mindsets: being verbally assertive.

The foreign teacher in question here prioritised his interaction models over other language teaching approaches. Reflection might have reminded him that five-minute teacher-student interaction did not contain much learnable input. The teacher's teaching principle might be that learners should ask questions and interact in order to learn. He failed to recognise that asking questions contains a lot of cultural implications. If the foreign teacher had reflected upon his rationale behind his teaching, its compatibilities with the Chinese culture of learning, and the expected results from such teaching, he would have quickly recognised that he was forcibly imposing his values upon the students, the values that contradicted those of the students.

The following report further illustrates the importance of reflection in teaching. FTI7 (L42-45) (teaching postgraduate students) reported:

> I make them play games. I have different types of game activities where they must work as a group and they will present what they have done to the class. So I force them by making them play a game.

The tone in the remark sounds bossy and authoritarian. The Chinese postgraduate students are expected to engage in theoretical studies at this stage. Games may be a good teaching instrument, but they do not contribute much to students' theoretical studies for highly advanced learners. This teacher did not seem to reflect upon and question his own fundamental assumptions about his teaching and its appropriateness to students' expectations.

These two foreign teachers, who emphasised interactive teaching procedures, routinised their teaching so much that they failed to recognise cultural incompatibilities. A reflective approach would have helped them question and re-assess their taken-for-granted thought, beliefs, and assumptions on which their teaching procedures and classroom behaviours were based. Through reflection, they might have transcended the constraints imposed by cultural differences and crossed the borders to reach out to the students by exploring appropriate teaching methodologies to meet the needs and expectations of the students, and finally to transform their perceptual worlds.

A foreign teacher (FTI13) found his interactive approach rejected by the Chinese students, especially in classes that required verbal participation (L180). He had been emphasising verbal participation on the basis of his perception of the Chinese students' poor communicative skills (L102-105). With such a perception, he organised the students into groups to engage in discussions, role plays, debates, and games, in spite of his observation of the "changes in chemistry"-- learner resistance. His teaching was perceived as "dull", and "dogmatic" (SI2, L137) and the students (SI1, SI2, SI3) felt that they had not learned much from his interactive approach.

Matching the expectations of the students requires teachers' internal and external dialogue with themselves and with others, through critical reflections, to uncover the values underpinning their practice, to enable them "to see conflicts among theories which guide their action" (Olson, 1992, p. 78). Reflection will help foreign teachers to re-align their practice to relate it to both their fundamental values and the Chinese culture of learning, and the re-alignment will result in a better knowledge of the sources of the conflicts and incompatibilities. Expectations are a part of one's value systems that "have a normative or 'oughtness' quality about them, and ... function as criteria or frameworks against which present experience can be tested" (Furnham & Bochner, 1986, p. 199). The interpretations of the teachers are central to the understanding of these criteria or frameworks. Therefore, teachers' reflection and dialoguing play a decisive role in making precise judgements in their interpretations in "the intersubjective world" (Slack, 1998, p. 322).

Critical reflection will help teachers find a "culture-sensitive methodology" (Flowerdew, 1998, p. 327), or "culture-sensitive pedagogy" (Reid, 1987, p. 100), or "socio-cultural knowledge" (Greene & Ackerman, 1995, p. 410), by examining and questioning their core values. Pennycook (1989) points out that "many Western teachers abroad blithely assume the superiority of their methods" (p. 611) that have little coherence and validity, and that are largely inappropriate to the host institution's educational contexts. Direct application of Western teaching techniques, without the teacher's awareness of the philosophies underlying these techniques and students' cultural background may not lead to desired outcomes (Orton, 1990; Gardner, 1989; Pennycook, 1990; Widdowson, 1993). The appropriateness of pedagogies in cross-cultural settings is largely constructed by the external norms -- the norms of the host institution rather than by "endonormative standards of adequacy teachers decide for themselves" (Widdowson, 1993, p. 267). Appropriate pedagogy should, therefore, be "located in the socio-cultural matrix of the learners' own world" (Widdowson, 1992a, p. 314) and should make teachers' personal experience and their professional insights serve both local and global needs so as to prepare students to be at home with national and international cultures (Kramsch & Sullivan, 1996).

Upon reflection, foreign teachers will realise that the imposition of any teaching approach, however effective it is in any other context, cannot achieve much unless it recognises and incorporates features of the Chinese contexts. In language learning, it is the linguistic needs and linguistic input that are central to learner expectations (Wang. 1986; McCargar. 1993; Gass et al.. 1998), although conversations may have some validity in promoting fluency. In Widdowson's (1990) view, teachers who emphasise too much learner interaction in a fond hope that students' linguistic knowledge will gradually take shape are "guilty of the pedagogic equivalent of criminal negligence" (p. 45). He maintains that there is a close relationship between the acquisition of linguistic knowledge and communicative competence, and that

> the realisation of this relationship as appropriate to local conditions cannot be achieved by slogan or dogma or misplaced trust in the unconditional transfer of truth, but only by carefully monitored experimentation through experience, in real classrooms, of the teaching of English in the Chinese context. (p. 46)

Hall (1986) argues, "A lifetime's experience has convinced me that no society and no culture should force its educational system on another" (p. 168). Gardner (1989) agrees that

> One lesson impressed upon me in my survey of educational institutions is that it makes little sense to transpose an educational practice *en bloc* from one culture to another. Even when one attempts to effect such a transposition carefully, the practice will immediately be refashioned by the alien context in ways difficult to anticipate. (p. 303)

Imposition, with disregard to the concerns of students and the realities of the local contexts, would be "pedagogically poor and politically naive" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 311). Modification of Western teaching approaches rather than rigid transplant becomes essential in the Chinese educational contexts. It may be risky to over-dramatise one particular teaching approach by dismissing other alternatives. Given the complexities and the changing nature of the classroom culture, pedagogical reconciliation is an inevitable and a never-ending process. According to Edge (1996), there is no end product to pedagogical exploration for appropriateness; "appropriate methodology is always a state of becoming" (p. 19). As a result, reflection is also a never-ending process in language teaching. Violent pedagogical imposition -- second-order change -- will not yield the expected results in the process of change (Cortazzi, 1990).

It must be pointed out that it is not the Chinese expectation to make a revolution (second-order change) in the ELT programs by introducing new foreign expertise to replace the current system. As double agents of change -- linguistic expertise and pedagogical innovations -- foreign expertise was seen as an catalytic, but not a revolutionary, agency to add alternatives to Chinese educational theories and practices, i.e. first-order change, rather than to replace the entire Chinese educational system (AI6, AI7). Seen in this light, the involvement of foreign teachers contributes, in part, to the holistic change of the ELT programs, especially in upgrading the Chinese educational system to conform with Western educational standards (CTI1, AI6, AI8). Fundamental change or second-order change is to be brought about by Chinese teachers, administrators, and specialists rather than by expatriate teachers alone (Orton, 1990). Consequently, the reflective approach needs to be adopted by Chinese teachers and administrators as much as by the expatriate teachers.

The Chinese administrators should themselves be aware of the danger of the clock logic, such as their strong belief in the native-speaker-ideal fallacy. Most of the problems arising from foreign teachers' involvement, as the data indicate, were related to some teachers' inability to teach their language because they had not received any formal university training in teaching the language. As pointed out earlier, language teaching involves language awareness, cultural awareness, pedagogic awareness, and intercultural communication skills. A native speaker without the relevant qualifications may lack the necessary skills and competence for successful teaching. Simply presenting them as cultural and language models in the classroom may lead to tensions between teachers and students because modelling is not teaching in a formal sense. When foreign teachers' teaching was not welcomed, the Chinese administrators could have reflected upon the underlying hurdles that had prevented foreign teachers from successful teaching. The reflective approach could have helped them question their recruiting and administrative policies and practices, and explore new ways to address the problems. The Chinese administrators themselves, responsible for the success and failure of their employment of foreign teachers, need to take a more reflective approach. Critical reflection may help the Chinese administrators move beyond the realm of the clock.

When challenged, Chinese students also need to take a reflective approach to examining their fundamental values, beliefs, learning preferences and styles. Some of these learning preferences and styles may be good for language learning, but some may be detrimental. They, too, need to fight against their clock logic, the notion that their way of learning or classroom behaviour is the only "right" way. They need to be open to foreign teachers and collaborate with them to look for better options for learning. They need to be alerted to the differences in cultural values which might be the potential sources of conflicts. However, as all the values reflect the constraints of existing cultures, the reflective approach requires the willingness to change in *all* cultural groups. For the students, the least powerful in the relationships, this may be difficult. Nevertheless, if foreign teachers and Chinese students could join together to identify the sources of their conflicts through cooperation, possible solutions would be within reach. Genuinely synergetic and collaborative cultures will empower them to successfully deal with their problems.

6.4 Creating a Collaborative Culture

The data have shown that it was generally agreed among foreign and Chinese teachers that only through close collaboration with Chinese teachers can foreign teachers' expertise be maximised (66.6%, FTQ:P2:S2:Q12; 86.5%, CTQ:P2:S2:Q12). It was also recognised that collaboration contributed positively to foreign teachers' teaching (66.6%, FTQ:P2:S2:Q5; 65.4%, CTQ:P2:S2:Q5).

Collaboration means joint involvement in the program, accommodation of ideas and assumptions through integration, adaptation, flexibility and compromise. A collaborative culture, according to Hargreaves (1992, 1994), enables teachers to share and develop their expertise together, to build collective strength and confidence, to promote professional growth, to bridge gaps derived from differing values, beliefs, and norms, and to create dynamics in teaching. Collaborative cultures require a tolerant attitude toward differences and disagreement, an understanding, trust, cooperation, an involvement, and a supportive environment. A collaborative culture promotes teaching and learning by "searching for better alternatives in the continuous quest for improvement" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 195) and it will help foreign and Chinese teachers to benefit from each other's strengths and offset each other's weaknesses (Wu, 1983a, 1983b; Orton, 1990; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a; Wan, 1997; Li, 1998b).

Establishing a collaborative culture requires an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of both native and non-native teachers. Native speakers have integrated cultural and linguistic experiences and have a feel for the nuances and idiomatic expressions of the language, but non-native speakers, though denied the authenticity status in the language, have the advantage of their familiarity with the students' actual cultural world: classroom settings, students' beliefs, attitudes and values, and thus "have a clear and, indeed, decisive advantage" (Widdowson, 1994, p. 387) over native speakers in pedagogical options. A genuinely established collaborative culture may maximise each other's strengths to compensate for each other's weaknesses. It is the complementary expertise that this collaborative culture aims at. Medgyes (1996) has nicely pointed out, "weakness on one side of the coin is an asset on the other" (p. 39). Thus, the debate over "who is worth more -- native or non-native," Medgyes argues, can be misleading and the answer could never be satisfactory. Medgyes concludes that both native and non-native teachers are "equally effective" (p. 40) and complementary to one another. The combined forces may help counterbalance one another's drawbacks. According to Orton (1990), the Chinese attempt to introduce Western teaching approaches to the Chinese classroom might be more likely to be successful "if it were undertaken within a framework of a collaborative exploration of one another's practice and principle" (p. 320). Within the framework of mutual support and trust, in a context where native experts[3] are "consulted not instructed" (Rogers,1990, p. 8), Medgyes (1996) maintains, there should be a favourable mix of native and non-native teachers who can "complement each other in their strengths and weaknesses" (p. 42) in various forms of engagements. The one-way approach may not achieve optimally positive results. The central issue for the Chinese administrators is how to maximise foreign teachers' strengths and to counterbalance their weaknesses (Wang & Gao, 1996). Exaggeration of either their strengths or their weaknesses may result in serious tensions and disappointment. Using foreign teachers to their disadvantage may be disappointing for all participants. Therefore, a collaborative culture may help reduce the chances of "tissue rejection" and promote beneficial changes.

---

[3] "Native experts" here refers to both local and foreign experts, each seen as an expert in their own particular domain.

The survey data indicate that many Chinese students (62.6%, SQ:P2:S1:Q16) believed that they could learn more from Chinese teachers' classes than from foreign teachers' classes. CTI5 (L99-101) mentioned that she could learn more from Chinese teachers because Chinese teachers, with their own language learning experiences and awareness of the language operating system, could better identify and cater for students' needs and more readily adopt appropriate and flexible teaching methods that matched students' expectations. This suggests that it might be possible to extend Chinese educational understandings of the modelling role of reflective approaches. As part of a collaborative team, the Chinese teachers might be best placed to demonstrate to students how the task of negotiating a synergetic culture could be approached. Chinese students will benefit most from the complementary expertise of both Chinese and foreign teachers. Collaborative efforts are one way to transcend "otherness" and language and cultural barriers that have so far hampered foreign teachers' teaching in China and help all participants cross the boundary.

There exists a sound base for establishing such a collaborative culture. Many Chinese teachers of English at universities have been trained in the West and have a broad picture of the gaps between Chinese and Western teaching methods, between the Chinese culture of learning and Western cultures of learning (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a), due to their experiences in cross-cultural communication. Such a teaching culture in China has provided foreign teachers with a favourable accommodating environment for collaboration, cooperation, and pedagogical innovations (FTI3, FTI4, FTI12). These Chinese teachers may help their foreign guests to quicken the pace of their adaptation and to tailor their teaching to learner needs (CI1). Besides, many Chinese teachers, often denied access to Western journals and conferences, are interested in Western language teaching methodologies (CTI1, CTI3, AI11, AI12, for example), and collaboration can provide opportunities for them to learn from foreign teachers through direct contact. In addition, Chinese teachers, pressured to publish books and papers, have a strong desire to collaborate with foreign teachers in doing joint research, which is highly encouraged by the government (AI4, AI6). In fact, such collaboration has yielded positive results (FTI4).

Collaboration, according to CTQ30 (L5-8), could help both foreign and Chinese teachers to learn from each other and to ultimately maximise foreign expertise in upgrading Chinese teaching standards. AI4 (L54-55) affirmed that collaboration could lead to joint research in the areas both parties might be interested in. To AI6 (L5-6), as many foreign teachers had been well trained in doing research, in academic writing, and in theoretical studies, and Chinese teachers have a sound knowledge of the local culture and their students, it was, therefore, important to involve both Chinese and foreign teachers in collaborative teaching and research. AI7 (L52-5) was sure that collaboration could help teachers, Chinese or foreign, to update or adapt their teaching techniques, and to improve their teaching.

Collaboration, however, requires some basic conditions. Firstly, people involved in collaboration need profound cultural understandings (Freire, 1973). Shared expectations and a deep understanding of students' perceptions and attitudes are pivotal for effective collaboration (Shannon & Meath-Lang, 1992). Secondly, it requires teachers to have common achievable goals. Collaboration without clear objectives may fail to achieve the expected results. Thirdly, "collective locus of control", and "an appreciation of leadership" (Sagor, 1997, p. 181), from either teachers or administrators, must be identified. Who initiates, plans, directs, coordinates, and evaluates the collaboration becomes a critical issue for all participants. Paradoxically, if the collaboration is contrived by certain experts, it is not collaboration at all. It is a mandated involvement. Yet, leadership is necessary for coordination and implementation of agreed plans. While collaboration requires role responsibilities, at the same time it demands "flexible equality" (Sturman, 1992, p. 160) which allows every participant to stand on an equal footing. Fourthly, there should be lines of communication between participants to exchange and share one another's views and experiences (Budd & Wright, 1992). Finally, participants' interest in the collaboration needs careful consideration. It is unrealistic to involve people in a collaborative project in which some people are interested but some are not.

Meeting these conditions is not easy. Although both Chinese and foreign teachers saw the great need for collaboration, it is not without problems. FTQ2 (L3-16) wrote:

> While collaboration is a good idea, team teaching is a difficult way to teach even with a teacher from a similar background. It is very time consuming in preparation -- ultimately a foreign teacher's contribution stems from their skills and competence

> irrespective of environment, resources etc. though undoubtedly collaboration may make their teaching easier. In particular I think the terminal objectives of the syllabus should be precisely identified for a foreign teacher and the structure of all the subjects fitting together in courses, e.g. English majors, business English, be explained....

The complex nature of collaboration involves many cultural and social variables. A lot of pragmatic problems need to be identified and addressed in order to ensure successful collaboration, such as curricular objectives, local politics, hierarchical status, trust, responsibility, and personal dedication (AI15, CTI8, CTQ30, FTI5, FTI6).

The data suggest that although foreign and Chinese teachers and Chinese administrators saw the importance of building a collaborative culture, it was often the case that actions failed to match the rhetoric (FTI1). For example, FTI5 (L348-351) indicated that it would be very useful for Chinese and foreign teachers to share some ideas by organising workshops, and at the same time Chinese teachers could be trained with some methods of teaching. But his efforts to involve Chinese teachers in sharing ideas and experiences proved unsuccessful. No Chinese teachers seemed to bother to attend his lectures or workshops. He (L3377-382) felt puzzled about the situation:

> We have given a couple of lectures and we had very few teachers come. And we thought that was kind of strange because we, you know, we don't come with the idea that we know everything. We don't. We just come as a servant, and we want to come as a teacher and just to do the best job we possibly can. And if we can help the teachers, that's fine, and the students and administration, you know. I think it's a team thing. It's not a foreign teacher over there and the Chinese teachers over here. You have to be a team.

He claimed that unless foreign teachers were involved in team or collaborative teaching, foreign teachers' expertise could not be fully utilised. At the same time, he admitted, no foreign teachers ever bothered to observe Chinese teachers' classes. Both Chinese and foreign teachers recognised, in words, the importance of collaboration, but no one was willing to put these words into practice. Such a sad reality is devastating to maximising foreign expertise and to China's efforts to transform its education to conform to Western educational standards, as in the official rhetoric.

The reasons for such an action-rhetoric mismatch are as many as there are different individuals and situations. Firstly, some Chinese teachers, when they were students, either in China or abroad, did not have positive experiences with foreign teachers, and such negative experiences discouraged them from trying new experiences (CTI4, CTI5, CTI6, CTI7). Secondly, as pointed out previously, collaboration needed mutual trust, understanding, and respect. Some foreign teachers' behaviour suggested a superior and condescending attitude in the Chinese perception (AI9, AI15). Some Chinese teachers also tended to look down upon foreign teachers (AI14, AI15, CTI8). Some Chinese teachers, with years of teaching experience, believed that they knew more teaching methodologies than foreign teachers who did not know the students' language and cultural background (AI10, CTI1, CTI7, CTI8). Lack of mutual trust blocked any possibilities for collaboration. Thirdly, foreign and Chinese teachers taught so entirely different courses that they did not have shared interests and objectives as a basis for collaboration. It was difficult for a teacher who taught listening to collaborate with another one who taught writing, or literary criticism, for example. Fourthly, it seemed that many Chinese teachers were too busy making a living, through moonlighting (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996a), to care about any new learning and new directions in language teaching and learning (AI11). Collaboration that was time-consuming did not seem to benefit them, financially. Finally, foreign teachers in China are given so high a social position (Ross, 1993) that approaching them individually seems to run counter to the Chinese organisational principles in which individuals are subordinate to the organisation (*geren fucong cuzhi*) (the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, 1992). This means that collaboration is to be initiated by the administration, rather than by individuals. Whether there should be a collaboration is determined by the administration. In fact, some Chinese administrators rarely worried about whether there was collaboration or not (AI6, AI7).

To resolve such a mismatch, the Chinese administrators need to develop cultural awareness and management skills. It is important that they make substantial efforts to match their actions with the rhetoric: to maximise foreign expertise in upgrading Chinese educational standards, and to explore new approaches through investigation and experimentation to achieve their goals. Establishment of a collaborative culture to engage Chinese and foreign teachers, and Chinese students in multi-faceted paradigms of the faculty activities may be conducive to making the best use of imported foreign expertise. This issue will be investigated further in the following section.

In summary, a collaborative culture will enable Chinese and foreign teachers to share one another's ideas and experiences, to form complementary expertise, to build collective strength in resolving problems derived from cultural differences, and to develop a cross-cultural understanding on the basis of mutual trust. Collaboration requires socio-cultural knowledge, clear objectives, coordination, vision, leadership and equal relationship. It was pointed out that although collaboration was a consensus among Chinese and foreign teachers, there was a still a mismatch between rhetoric and actions.

6.5 Maximising Foreign Expertise

All teaching and learning have strong cultural and contextual dimensions (Knight, 1998; Austin, 1998; Wenden, 1998; Z. P. Jiang, 1999). Teachers and students bring into the classroom different sets of mindsets, values, and belief systems (Holliday, 1994b). Perceptual differences become likely when the participants base their interpretations of one another's worlds on different interpretative systems. Problems can arise in intercultural interactions, and yet these problems can only be resolved through more interactions and engagements (Young, 1996; Austin, 1998). The previous discussion has pointed out the importance of building a cultural synergy and a collaborative culture where foreign expertise could be fully utilised to serve the Chinese ELT purposes. This section will argue that in order to maximise imported foreign expertise, some concrete measures need to be taken.

Transforming the current Chinese educational landscape has become a mandated mission (Chen, 1998a, 1998b, 1998c) for Chinese educators, administrators, and Chinese teachers. Jiang Zeming (1998), the Chinese President, has pointed out that "Creativity is the soul of a nation. It is an endless resource for a nation's development and prosperity" (as quoted in Chen, 1998b, p. 4, my translation). The Chinese current teaching practices, as described by Chen (1998b, 1998c), do not seem to encourage individual creativity. Socio-economic changes require comparable changes in teaching and learning. Foreign teachers' participation could help quicken the pace of change in ELT in China. However, the conservative forces in Chinese educational theories and practices and especially in people's perceptions have built up resistance against change to the status quo (Crook, 1990; Paine, 1990, 1991; Brick, 1991; Lewin et al., 1994), and foreign teachers and Chinese teachers and administrators who are dedicated to accomplishing the mandated mission have to bear the brunt in fighting against the resistance. Foreign teachers, though awarded special status and privileges, are in a vulnerable position to implement their expertise which contrasts sharply to what is in existence in Chinese ELT profession. Therefore, these foreign teachers, as agents of change, need strong support from both Chinese administrators and teachers to help them successfully accomplish their mission for the benefit of Chinese educational transformation. In this sense, implementing the imported expertise in China requires mutual responsibilities for all participants to work toward to shared agendas, goals, and expectations, and it also involves the awareness of the constraints imposed by differences in cultural values, beliefs, and perceptions.

Amongst the four groups of participants, Chinese administrators play a key role in assisting the other three groups to cross cultural borders: Chinese and foreign teachers, and Chinese students. In the hierarchical power pyramid, the students are the least capable of crossing cultural borders for many reasons and therefore they need special support from the other three groups. First of all, their learning is situated in a context where the pervasive teaching modes -- transmission styles -- reduce the students to becoming receptacles for the knowledge deposited by teachers (Chen, 1998b; Lewin et al., 1994; Paine, 1990; Crook, 1990; Gao, 1993). The socialisation of the Chinese culture of learning has so shaped their perceptual templates that attempts to change such templates can generate strong resistance. In fact, they were looking forward to change (SI1, SI2, SI3, for example), but when the change touched on their fundamental values and beliefs, they felt worried, insecure, frustrated, and sometimes disappointed (see 4.3.2.1). The introduction of Western teaching methods by foreign teachers, unfortunately, did not seem compatible with their existing templates.

Secondly, many students have very narrow ranges of living experiences. Some have never been to any other place than their own cities. When challenged by new ideas and new things, they lack cultural competence (Chen, 1990) to cope with what seems to them to be "exotic" or incomprehensible. When they see foreign teachers' classroom behaviour which is different from that of Chinese teachers, especially foreign teachers' informal and casual teaching styles, they interpret such behaviour as "unfriendly", "condescending", or "patronising", through the cultural filters and screens of their own meaning-making system, never realising that foreign teachers may also interpret their classroom behaviour as odd (Pennycook, 1996; Orton, 1990; Harvey, 1985, for example).

Thirdly, the examination system has exerted a powerful influence in shaping the perceptions of both Chinese teachers and students. The results of the examination (Band Four, Band Eight, and other examinations) are often interpreted as an indicator of the students' language proficiency and the educational quality of the university. Nearly two thirds of the students participating in this survey (66.2%, STQ:P2:S2:Q20) claimed that the examination system had greatly influenced their learning modes and preferences. The difficult examinations have compelled the students to bury themselves in a limited number of textbooks on which the tests are based and thus the students were reduced to becoming "scoring machines" (Shao, 1998, p. 6, my translation), i.e., learning to pass examinations. Standard tests and teaching aiming at passing examinations have stifled the students' creativity and enthusiasm in learning (Wu, 1998), and "have made the fertile educational landscape a desert" (Fu, 1998, p. 6, my translation). Foreign teachers' teaching, aiming at communicative competence, was often regarded as "irrelevant" to examinations (SI6, L20-24). In addition, what foreign teachers offered was too simple to be useful in examinations which were even too difficult for some Chinese professors to pass (CTI11, L108-111).

Finally, examinations have influenced the students' learning preferences that are text-oriented, memory-based, and test-orchestrated (Harvey, 1985; Ting, 1987). Some foreign teachers' rejection of textbooks made the students feel insecure and frustrated because what foreign teachers espoused was at odds with their traditional orientations. Under the foreign teachers' approaches, the students could not easily see their progress, which they had been used to measuring by the coverage of certain texts and the amount of memorised vocabulary. With such learning orientations, the students interpreted foreign teachers' teaching as "unsystematic", "incoherent", and "irresponsible" because foreign teachers did not cover texts one after another.

These four constraints can be overcome if Chinese administrators and teachers join in with foreign teachers to make their cultural differences and expectations explicit and cross each other's borders through negotiations and mutual understandings. Chinese teachers, having been through, perhaps partially if not completely, the difficulties in crossing borders, can serve as mediators or models to bridge the rift between foreign teachers and Chinese students, by involving them in different social and academic activities, such as work shops, seminars, and lectures on East-West cultural differences.

Of the four hurdles, the third one may be the most difficult to change because it has been institutionalised as a regime of truth. Challenging the examination system will test the administrators' nerve, vision, and insights. Reforming the examination system and changing other variables, such as the centralised curricula, state-sanctioned textbooks, and the pervasive political orientations based on Marxist ideology, to comply with the state's mandate might help reduce learner resistance to foreign expertise whose purpose it is to bring about beneficial changes in ELT in China. Top-down changes cannot be complete unless corresponding bottom-up changes take place. Involving foreign teachers in the reforming process may be useful to achieve the goal. In other words, overcoming the constraints can help the host institutions to make the best of foreign expertise for the benefit of the students.

In addition, in order to create a supportive environment to maximise foreign expertise, it is very important to consider reforming the Chinese role culture in which "communication is prescribed by conventional roles ... in a 'logical' pyramidical form with the most powerful at the summit and the least powerful at the base" (McIlwraith, 1996, p. 103). Such a culture, according to McIlwrath, reinforces traditional Chinese values in relation to power hierarchy, and it in turn sustains the status quo in its conservative ideology of education (teacher-centred, subject-oriented, test-orchestrated, and memory-based teaching and learning), quite at odds with the transformative approach (Gardner, 1989) that emphasises "socially relevant, learner-centred, discovery-based learning" (McIlwraith, 1996, p. 103) which is favoured by most foreign teachers. In the role culture, everybody is strictly graded and is expected to perform according to their proper positions. Such a culture, as McIlwraith (1996) has observed, discourages intra-staff cooperation "because of a suspicion that prima donnas might create havoc within the institution" (p. 104) and because of the Chinese educational ideology that places emphasis "on the influence of 'master' teachers who have reached the peak of the institution's educational mountain and are not to be challenged" (p. 104). The role culture is shaped and sustained by those "masters" whose wisdom and judgements steer the course of the educational development of the institution (Paine, 1990, 1991). The role culture thus often presents obstacles to the introduction of Western pedagogies which unsettle such a strict hierarchical power structure. That is, foreign teachers' teaching is not only constrained by the classroom culture, but also by the role culture. To be brief, resolution of the problems deriving from the classroom culture may not be possible without considering the constraints imposed by the power structure. Border crossing therefore must also involve those elite Chinese teachers whose powerful influence in the institution, imperceptible to foreign teachers, can never be ignored. Involving these teachers in border crossing, however, cannot be accomplished without the support from the administrators, whose power is readily acknowledged by all staff members. For foreign teachers to understand the views of those behind the scene, and for those elite teachers and other colleagues to understand foreign teachers' teaching, Chinese administrators should engage them in various forms of discussions, negotiations, cooperation, teaching planning, syllabus designs, classroom observations, and joint action research.

Moreover, foreign teachers are also constrained by the subject course designs in Chinese host institutions. English language teaching is compartmentalised as listening, reading, writing, speaking, phonology, grammar, English and American literature, newspaper reading, integrated English course, and etc. Each course is relatively independent. The teacher who teaches listening is to concentrate on listening only, but nothing else. Such compartmentalisation presents difficulties for foreign teachers, most of whom see language as a whole rather than as separate and independent units. FTI8 (L109-112) complained, for example, that she was teaching Oral English, but she did not know what other teachers were doing because of the lack of information and also the lack of coordination. To her, speaking, listening, reading and writing should be taught in a integrated way so as to promote learning. The dissection, in her view, hampered efforts to introduce Western teaching methods. What this implies is that if Chinese course designs remain unchanged, Western teachers in China need much more information before disembarking on China's soil about how to effectively teach each individual course, especially Oral English, writing, and English literature, which are often taught by foreign teachers, and which often create problems.

The course of English literature is worth mentioning here. Like Chinese literature that is heavily emphasised in literacy in China (Sisney & Du, 1993), English literature is also highly regarded for English literacy. Many students (74.1%, STQ:P2:S:2:Q16) believed that one could not learn a language well without learning its literature. The difficulties they had in decoding the meanings from classical literature did not seem to dampen their interest. This course has often been taught by foreign teachers. It is difficult for those who have never studied English and American literature in a university because teachers themselves have difficulties in reading T. S. Eliot, for example. It is not easy for those professionals, either, because they simply do not know how to balance language learning and literary studies. Teaching literature in the way they teach at home may not be appropriate because the purpose of learning literature is to learn the language, rather than all the literary conventions. Yet one cannot teach literature without dealing with both linguistic and literary aspects. Surely, just knowing that T. S. Eliot wrote the poem *The Waste Land* is not a way to learn literature and language, as is the case in many institutions in China (Sisney & Du, 1993; Li, 1998a).

To resolve the problems discussed so far, it is important for Chinese administrators to create a low-context culture within a high-context culture by involving foreign and Chinese teachers in negotiating achievable goals in different courses. It is simply unwise to "dump" foreign teachers into the classroom to teach the courses that are not to their advantage. There should be a process of negotiation of and discussion about the rationale of each course, the goals, the specific requirements, and the assessing criteria. This should be done before class begins. The negotiated plans and agreements should be distributed in written form to everyone involved as guidelines. The plans and agreements should include specific steps and requirements. For example, the plans for English literature may include what objectives and goals are to be achieved, what authors/writers or poets are to be included, what literary pieces are to be taught, which aspects (such as linguistic styles, literary conventions, etc) are to be introduced or emphasised, how much time is needed for a certain literary piece, to what extent should the teacher explain and the students learn for themselves, how much assignment is required, and how to assess students' learning and report their learning results. Drawing such plans, however, tests the administrators' managerial skills, yet it is worth trying. Just telling foreign teachers that they have to teach such and such and giving them a book without any guidelines can only frustrate the foreign teachers and waste their time.

Having made the plans does not guarantee the success of teaching. The administrative support does not end at this stage. It is needed for the implementation and assessment of the agreed plans. The administrators and those involved in making the plans share mutual responsibilities to ensure the enactment of the plans. Foreign teachers should be allowed to have regular, explicit, truthful, rather than "face-maintaining", feedback about their teaching. It would be damaging to the program if foreign teachers do not know the problems until these problems have accumulated too much momentum to resolve.

An efficient leadership, which is committed to professional development and educational change, is required to set up a supportive context for educational transformation by maximising foreign expertise. Chinese administrators, who initiate and manage foreign teachers' involvement, need to have faith that foreign teachers, with their expertise, can make a positive contribution to upgrading China's educational standards. Management skills, Ji (1996) explains, ultimately determine the success or failure of foreign teachers' teaching in China.

To improve their supervising and conflict-managing skills, it is important for Chinese administrators to develop socio-cultural pragmatic knowledge to cope with the complex situations in which foreign teachers are involved. They must take a lead in crossing cultural borders, questioning their fundamental values and beliefs, suspending their prejudgements, and taking a rational approach to their management. They need to be sensitised to both the limitations and potential of foreign teachers and draw insights from engaging them in multi-level, multi-faceted social and professional activities and from their direct engagements with foreign teachers themselves.

The previous discussion suggests that multi-faceted involvement initiated by the administrators is important in helping all participants expand their visions and widen their horizons, and in assisting the institution to fight against inertia by introducing new elements in teaching and learning. The involvement will give foreign teachers a sense of inclusion and belonging, rather than exclusion and isolation or marginalisation. The exclusion can create a sense of isolation damaging to their pedagogical innovations. The isolation, FTQ1 (P5:L18-19) argued, would cause teachers' frustration and disappointment in that both the students and the teachers could not adapt themselves to one another, and so "this constant adapting needed by the students may become difficult and thus the FET's [Foreign English Teacher] lessons become a 'break from the norm' rather than an added learning experience" (L19-22). As a result, foreign teachers' potential could not be maximised and their impact on teaching in China seemed "sporadic, individual-based" (L26), and the impact on Chinese teachers and Chinese English teaching became minimal.

In the opinion of FTQ10 (L26-28), "the sooner the teachers get to know other Chinese teachers, the quicker the foreign teachers will feel that they have bonded with their colleagues" (L26-28). The involvement, he suggested, would let foreign teachers know the background and expectations of the classes that they were assigned to teach. To FTI6 (L401-402), foreign teachers could indeed make a useful contribution to the host institution if their expertise could be maximally used to help in a variety of ways, and if they could be included in staff academic activities. FTQ9 (L43-44) agreed that there should be a "camaraderie" between the teachers of the host institution and the foreign teachers "that helps them feel they're part of the team for maximising student learning."

Multi-faceted involvement will help foreign teachers identify the needs of the Chinese students and their expectations, sensitise themselves to cultural differences, pedagogical incompatibilities, and role conflicts, and devise teaching strategies to resolve the problems. Involvement will allow the voices of the participants to be listened to and their concerns addressed. Multi-faceted involvement, essential to knowing the "network of behavioural worlds" in the host cultural settings, may alleviate the paralysing pigeonholing effects and role conflicts, and ultimately lead to mutual understanding, trust, shared goals and vision, partnerships, alliance, efficiency, effectiveness, responsiveness, and value consensus in the teacher culture -- "the moving mosaic" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 239) which involves a blurred boundaries, a sense of belonging, flexibility, and dynamics. In this light, the Chinese administrative role is critical in bridging the gulf by creating a supportive teaching environment in which foreign expertise can be maximally utilised. The joint efforts of all participants will make the dream come true and "the twain shall meet" (Ford, 1988).

6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter explored two dimensions of possible solutions to the problems surrounding foreign teachers' teaching in China. It was pointed out that foreign teachers need to develop language awareness to enable them to make informed decisions in their teaching and in selecting the teaching methodologies appropriate to the needs and expectations of the students. The chapter posited that in intercultural communications, there is no one single teaching method that applies in all situations. Pedagogical and cultural compatibilities become primary concerns in transferring teaching methodologies from one cultural background to another. The chapter proposed making use of "border pedagogy" to transcend the constraints, differences, problems, and miscommunication inherent in differing cultural values, beliefs, and interpretative systems. The establishment of a collaborative culture and a supportive environment, critical reflections on the part of individuals and institutional participants, and multi-faceted involvement in multi-dimensional social and faculty activities will help contribute to assisting all people involved in crossing the boundaries to reach out to one another. Border pedagogy requires examination by all parties of fundamental assumptions and practices, the adoption of multiple alternatives to cope with the problems derived from perceptual differences in the intersubjective world, and a move beyond the clock logic. A collaborative culture will enable Chinese and foreign teachers to share one another's ideas and experiences, to form complementary expertise, and to move toward convergence by identifying differences from divergent views. To maximise foreign expertise, it was suggested that many cultural constraints need to be overcome. Multi-faceted involvement will facilitate border crossing and help create a "mosaic" teaching culture in which the cultural boundaries are blurred and cultural misunderstandings clarified. Foreign teachers' expertise can be maximally utilised to benefit Chinese ELT programs when the borders are crossed.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I shall first outline the major findings of this study and point out their implications. I will then explain how this study contributes to educational theory and practice. Finally, the chapter will describe the limitations of this study and offer some suggestions for further research.

7.1 Conclusion of the Thesis

This study inquired into the cross-cultural perceptions of the place of English-speaking teachers teaching English to English language majors in Chinese tertiary institutions. As I pointed out in the first chapter, this research was prompted by my own personal experiences and my observations of the conflicts between foreign teachers and Chinese students. The study has provided significant insights into the nature of the problems under investigation and it has uncovered and explicated these problems through an exploratory journey to seek possible answers to both the overarching question formulated in Chapter One, "How do cultural perceptions of Chinese students and English-speaking teachers in China influence the perceptions of their performance?" and the four specific research questions established in Chapter Two. The findings will be presented in the following subsection under two separate headings: the major findings of the research and the implications of the study.

7.1.1 Major Findings of the Research

Cultural values have played a critical role in shaping teachers' and students' beliefs, perceptions, expectations, and their interpretative frameworks, which exert an enormous influence on the classroom behaviours of foreign teachers and Chinese students. Perceptual disparities in roles and expectations embedded in differing cultural norms seem to have become a major source of misunderstandings of one another's intentions and interpretations of one another's performance.

Most apparent in the teacher-learner tensions, the study suggests, are the cultural and pedagogical incompatibilities surrounding foreign teachers' pedagogical transference and innovations. Pedagogy, mediating the concepts of teaching and learning, roles, expectations, and teacher-student relationships, is shaped by the cultural values, ideologies, and educational philosophies where it originated. Pedagogical validity and appropriateness become problematic when a culturally-bound pedagogy is enacted in new socio-cultural contexts.

The study has presented evidence to show that foreign teachers and Chinese students, having internalised their cultural values and beliefs through socialisation of the cultures of teaching and learning in different cultural backgrounds, differed significantly in their expectations and interpretations of what it meant to be a "good" learner and a "good" teacher, and what constituted language teaching, language learning, and learning outcomes. Role expectations and interpretations allowed both foreign teachers and Chinese students to make sense of their classroom performance and their informed actions. Role conflicts arose in the process of restructuring role responsibilities when disparities occurred between foreign teachers' intentions and Chinese students' interpretation of the learning tasks. These conflicts meant that foreign teachers and Chinese students often failed to share agendas and expectations.

Foreign teachers participating in this study claimed to have espoused and implemented the communicative approach, a product of Western cultural values and beliefs that emphasise the notion of learner autonomy. The approach puts emphasis on teacher's facilitative rather than authoritarian role, on students' active involvement rather than passive reception, on fluency rather than on accuracy, on spontaneity rather than on coherent, systematic and structured transmission. However, the communicative approach contrasts sharply with, or contradicts, the traditional Chinese transmission style of teaching which sets as its priorities language accuracy and usage, the written discourse, and transmission through lectures and explication of prescribed textbooks. Teachers are seen as authorities and dispensers of knowledge and students as depositories for the transmitted knowledge. In transmission teaching, the teacher's primary role is to lecture systematically on the prescribed texts in which a body of knowledge resides while the student's role is to accumulate, digest, and assimilate what is transmitted.

It was not easy for foreign teachers to translate their assumptions into a teaching practice which matched the expectations of their students. Most foreign teachers, guided by the teaching principles derived from the communicative approach, tended to engage the students in small group activities, pair work, peer tutoring, peer correction, role plays, discussions, and debates, in an attempt to promote students' language competence through learner interaction and participation, and through language use in communication. The study points out that, although some aspects of the approach were welcomed by the students, the discourse of oracy and participation was not readily accepted as *teaching* in a formal sense by the Chinese students. The discourse, heavily emphasised by many foreign teachers in almost every aspect of language teaching, fails to acknowledge that in language learning, it is the *language* per se (linguistic forms, grammar, vocabulary, textual systems and literary conventions, etc.) that students need, but not the *ideas* used as prompts for discussions. The latter do not themselves contain much teachable and learnable linguistic input. Emphasis on ideas irrelevant to language learning rather than on linguistic forms was perceived by the students as putting the cart before the horse, obstructing rather than accelerating the language learning process.

The discourse of oracy and participation, based on the Western "challenge-defending" ideology, was considered face-threatening in a cultural milieu where reconciliation and harmony in hierarchical relationships are emphasised. Being assertive is a trait encouraged by the discourse, but it undermines the Chinese students' golden rule in interpersonal interactions: being modest. By enacting an unaltered pedagogy from a different context, foreign teachers unintentionally imposed their cultural values upon the Chinese students. The imposition triggered learner resistance.

In addition, the discourse encouraged the students to forsake the notion of teacher authority and to assume responsibility for their learning. Such a notion, however, did not fit the Confucian legacy where teachers' authority is respected and deferred to. The restructuring of role relationships threatened and unsettled students' eco-systematic balance and thus challenged their identities. Teaching that emphasised learner autonomy was often perceived as an abandonment of the students and abdication of teacher responsibility. Such negative perceptions, in turn, had a significant influence upon the students' learning motivations and their attitudes towards foreign teachers and their teaching.

Furthermore, in the discourse of participation, the task-based classroom activities and spontaneity required the teachers to have good classroom management skills and the students to have close cooperation. Problems arose when some foreign teachers did not have the necessary skills to manage large-size classes, and the students, feeling disoriented by the teachers' "exotic" teaching methods, often failed to cooperate.

Finally, the discourse failed to acknowledge the fact that Chinese education emphasises written discourse and literary studies rather than verbal skills. Emphasis on verbal skills did not seem to have any relevance to the Chinese EFL context. The discourse was inconsistent with the students' culture-bound interpretative systems, and, therefore, it became problematic and failed to yield the outcomes desired by the foreign teachers. The implication is that the discourse, which may be useful for setting the scene for potential learning, should not be interpreted as sufficient for language acquisition and therefore should not be used as a major teaching mode in its simple form (Gass et al., 1998). Cultural and pedagogical compatibilities should be taken into account.

The study has also raised the issue of teacher education in the West. The findings indicate that the diversity and complexity of certifying procedures in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand had presented difficulties for Chinese administrators to interpret Western credentials in the recruitment process. Although some foreign teachers had relevant qualifications, their training was often not sufficient to cope with the complex teaching situations in China, as some of their training lasted for as little as a few days to some weeks. Some foreign teachers, who had received lengthy training, as in the MA programs, nevertheless, lacked cultural, linguistic or pedagogical awareness, which is of critical importance in teaching in cross-cultural settings. It is not easy to employ all-rounders who are linguistically, pedagogically, and socio-culturally competent. There was always something missing.

Learner resistance arose from dissatisfaction with foreign teachers who lacked a large range of teaching options which would enable them to adapt to new learning situations. Some teachers, who did not know much about, or misunderstood, the fundamental concepts of the communicative approach, abused it to the extent of absurdity, such as mechanical reading from the very beginning to the end of the lengthy texts, and playing games for their own sake. In some extreme cases, the discourse of oracy and participation became a protective device for some foreign teachers to hide their pedagogical incompetence and linguistic and literary paucity. It was not rare that these foreign teachers abused the discourse without knowing that what they were doing contradicted its basic principles, as outlined by Canale and Swain (1980), for example.

Pedagogical communication conflicts and cultural incompatibilities in foreign teachers' classroom behaviours and communication skills were highlighted in the study. Foreign teachers tended to under-estimate the Chinese students' existing levels of language proficiency and thus often used teaching methods and teaching content that were aimed at levels far below the students' language competence and expectations. The pedagogical conflicts were intensified by foreign teachers' "unstructured" teaching methods and procedures. The Chinese students, unlike foreign teachers themselves, often failed to recognise the rationale behind such teaching and perceived it as unplanned, incoherent, unsystematic, and irresponsible. In the perceptions of Chinese students, some foreign teachers, enmeshed in their clock logic which emphasises absolute certainty, insisted on imposing particular Western teaching models upon them, without any adaptations or flexibility, without reflecting upon their appropriateness to the learners' needs and their compatibilities with the local contexts, and without exploring new approaches to face new challenges. These pedagogical conflicts, coupled with foreign teachers' emphasis of the discourse of oracy and participation, triggered student dissatisfaction and resistance. Increasingly as they progressed through university, Chinese students felt that they could not learn much in foreign teachers' classes, except for some improvement in listening, and that foreign teaching was a waste of time. With such a perception, some Chinese students adopted a policy of passive resistance against the forceful imposition of the models that they had failed to understand or accept.

Such a passive resistance was often imperceptible to foreign teachers who, from low-context cultures, where fewer rules have to be observed, often had difficulties making sense of the implicit messages conveyed by the Chinese students in the high-context culture in which each individual is expected to know his/her appropriate roles and places in a given context. In the high-context Chinese culture, it is often the implied rather than the expressed meaning that is important. Such an indirect communication style presented problems for foreign teachers to obtain a clear picture of how the students responded to their teaching because the students, knowing their place, would rarely voice their negative views about teaching even though they were frustrated and disappointed. They did so to avoid disgracing the teacher and thus to maintain teacher-learner harmony. Foreign teachers were, therefore, presented with a deceptive picture of their "successful" teaching when students adopted face-saving strategies to preserve teacher-student harmony. Problems were deliberately camouflaged and remained unaddressed. Teachers, excluded from cultural understanding, tended to view their teaching more positively than did the students.

The study has drawn an implication that foreign teachers' reputation and image has been tarnished by the large number of the recruited English-speaking natives who did not have relevant qualifications and who lacked necessary knowledge about language teaching and learning. They were recruited for their speaking competence only by some Chinese administrators who strongly believed in the native-speaker ideal and ignored the established guidelines for recruitment. Characteristic of the ideal is the confusion of user competence with teaching competence, and the consequent classification of native speakers as superior language teachers. The native-speaker ideal ignores the linguistic, cultural and pedagogic competencies, theoretical and practical knowledge of English language teaching and learning, educational philosophies of the host country and the home country, and intercultural communication skills needed to teach in a foreign language context. While the inadequate qualifications of some of the foreign teachers were blamed for their poor performance, the study has shown that poor performance was also exhibited by the most highly qualified foreign teachers. In fact the study has provided convincing evidence that neither the level nor the field of their qualifications can provide a guarantee that foreign teachers of English will be appropriately prepared.

The native-speaker ideal seems to have motivated the Chinese recruiting practices and the establishment of foreign teachers' privileged status in China. Foreign teachers were paid many times higher than their Chinese colleagues in spite of the fact that some Chinese teachers had received higher degrees in Western universities. It was found that these privileges enjoyed by foreign teachers had generated misperceptions of their superiority as authorities for all parties. The perceived superiority had serious and damaging effects upon their teaching, and it prevented them from interacting and collaborating with Chinese teachers, from cultural understandings and cultural border crossing, from adopting flexible teaching methodologies to suit the needs of the students and their learning preferences, and from listening to the voices of the students, colleagues, and administrators. Some foreign teachers' perceived haughty airs and condescending attitudes related to the native-speaker notion, at least in the perceptions of some Chinese students and teachers, had barred them from creating a supportive environment to promote teaching and learning. The dichotomous relationship of the native speaker's dominance and the non-native speaker's subordination and subserviency made communication problematic. As the notion entailed unrealistic expectations based on students' projected idealisations, conflicts became inevitable when the idealised role expectations could not be matched. Consequently, foreign teachers' involvement in ELT in China was often negatively perceived in spite of the Chinese eagerness to introduce foreign expertise into the Chinese classroom.

The study points out that there exist significant differences in English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL). Teacher-student conflicts arose from cultural and pedagogical incompatibilities when some foreign teachers directly transferred ESL teaching models to Chinese EFL learning contexts without acknowledging the ESL-EFL distinction. The study indicates that changes of teaching and learning contexts require teachers to make flexible adaptations in their teaching methods, and that it is pedagogically naive to transplant the models developed in the ESL contexts to the EFL contexts, without ever thinking of cultural compatibilities and appropriateness, as learners differ in their learning objectives, goals, needs, expectations, and learning environments. The distinction is of crucial importance for practitioners to become aware of the hurdles facing their teaching and to make appropriate adaptations in their teaching methods to fit learner needs and cultural expectations in different settings, rather than to apply the ready models that are successful in one context to all situations, within the framework of a clock logic.

Catering for learner needs has always been the priority in all teaching pedagogies and educational theories. Learner needs are shaped by diverse variables, such as learners' cultural values, socialisation, individual and institutional expectations, career orientations, competing interests, short- and long-term learning goals. Learner needs analysis becomes essential in foreign teachers' pedagogical transference and innovations. However, in practice, especially in cross-cultural settings, needs analysis is often problematic. Many factors often prevented foreign teachers in China from anticipating, identifying and matching students' needs and expectations. In spite of their goodwill and their professional dedication, foreign teachers were basically unaware of the diversity and complexity of learner needs in the cultural contexts that they had scant knowledge of. A predominant theme in the study is that foreign teachers often failed to provide what the students needed or engage with their understandings of what was needed.

Foreign teachers' difficulties in learner needs analysis could have been resolved, at least partially, if a supportive environment had been created. But this did not seem to be the case in the host institutions participating the survey. Lack of induction and engagements seemed to have contributed to foreign teachers' slow adjustment and adaptation. The study shows that it was extremely difficult for foreign teachers, who preferred clear goals, roles, and responsibilities to work in Chinese institutions where aspects such as goals and roles were left undefined, vague, and shrouded in a high-context reading and interpretations. Without being given any orientation and induction, they were "dumped" into the classroom where they were left to sink or swim. Even the most competent and highly qualified teachers had to feel their way into the system, through trial and error. Without any blueprint or guidelines, they were left to teach according to their own intuitions and judgements based on their previous teaching and learning experiences, their personal theories and their understanding of language teaching and learning theories. Anxiety, insecurity, trauma and a sense of exclusion and isolation were common amongst foreign teachers, especially amongst those who were in China for the first time. Most foreign teachers, in spite of their dazzling authoritative power, were in fact often marginalised and isolated from their Chinese colleagues' social and professional activities. Without a supportive environment, only a few foreign teachers could survive the ordeal.

It was pointed out in the study that the primary objective of language teaching is the language itself and its cultural presentations. Such an objective requires teachers to be aware of the organisational system of the language and the language learning process, to have an ability to analyse the linguistic features, and to adopt appropriate teaching methodologies to help students learn the language. Being a native speaker is not necessarily a natural qualification to teach the language. It is the professional training, personal interest in, and dedication to linguistic studies and the learning process that shape a teacher identity. It is the teacher's applied linguistic expertise, rather than the speaking competence alone, that justifies the recruitment practices and makes learning and teaching more accountable. Therefore, the ability to analyse the operating system of the language become critically important in EFL context in which structured, systemic, and coherent teaching modes are preferred.

It was apparent, as the study has shown, that some foreign teachers lacked the necessary linguistic awareness and abilities to analyse the language, especially in teaching literature which requires teachers to have a good command of many different aspects of the language. Lack of language awareness led to teachers' failure to predict and identify students' learning difficulties. The linguistic and literary poverty manifest in some foreign teachers' teaching seem to have resulted in their over-use of particular teaching strategies, such as group discussions. Even when group discussions were targeted at some profound aspects of literature or linguistics, or stylistics, some foreign teachers without any training in these aspects became tongue-tied. The study suggests that Chinese students preferred group discussions under the guidance of the teacher acting as a judge. But they were disappointed when the "judge" did not know the ins and outs of the "case" and failed to offer his/her own views about the issues being discussed. The Chinese students had not yet walked out of the shadow of the Confucian teacher-authority traditions and the teachers were often not equipped to show them the way out.

7.1.2 Implications of the Study

Foreign teachers' participation has been sought in order to assist China in its educational transformation. Foreign teachers are expected to teach the language, and to introduce Western pedagogical innovations to add alternatives to Chinese educational theories and practices rather than to replace the entire Chinese educational system. Seen in this light, their involvement contributes, in part, to the holistic change of the Chinese ELT programs, especially in upgrading the Chinese educational system to conform with Western educational standards. Foreign teachers, as pedagogical innovators or implementers, are sought to play a catalytic rather than a revolutionary role in the process of Chinese educational change that is desired in the Chinese drive for modernisation. However, collegial structures to move the process forward were missing in most institutions.

Change involves multiple aspects of the educational system: politics, concepts of teaching and learning, the organisational structure, the objectives and goals of the host institution, the centrally produced curricular and teaching materials, the socio-cultural contexts, and the identificational and social attributes of a given group. Educational establishments are arenas where "diverse ideological and social forms are in constant struggle" (Pennycook, 1990, p. 307). A lot of forces are at play in the "classroom culture" (Breen, 1985) which is far more important to success than knowledge transmission only (Stevick, 1980). Foreign teachers, operating within the existing Chinese educational system need to reconcile students' diverse learning purposes, competing interests, different learning preferences, differing role expectations and conceptualisation of knowledge -- all having potential for disagreement and clashes, yet all having powerful influences upon the teaching outcomes. Attempts to change these cultural paradigms and to change students' classroom behaviours, which may seem exotic and counterproductive in the eyes of foreign teachers, so that they fit foreign teachers' cultural frameworks and mindsets, however well-intentioned, can be seriously hampered by learner resistance.

The imported expertise has become a challenge and a threat to the students' existing eco-systematic cultural balance. The challenge, however, can provide them with alternatives to select, explore, enact, accept or reject on the basis of their culturally-shaped perceptions and interpretative systems. In this line of argument, foreign teachers' participation is of critical importance to the internal demand for students' accommodation and change. In the process of change, inevitable conflicts and challenges will provide opportunities and additional alternatives. Excluding foreign expertise from the Chinese ELT profession can be extremely harmful to the profession itself and to the Chinese modernisation programs. For the benefits of Chinese students and the Chinese ELT profession, trespassing on the traditional language teaching property by foreign teachers can be highly rewarding in the long run. The key issue to be confronted by all participants is the degree of pedagogical appropriateness to the local cultural contexts.

In considering the issue of appropriate pedagogy in language teaching for different socio-cultural contexts, it is important to note that, to avoid "tissue rejection" (Holliday, 1994b) and to locate a "cultural interface" (Ainscough, 1997), expatriate teachers need to be aware of cultural compatibility (Widdowson, 1993), and pedagogical congruence between what is introduced and the local cultural contexts. The notion of congruence points to the fact that foreign teachers should have a good understanding of the Chinese cultural values that may contribute to success or failure in their teaching. Identifying such a relative congruence requires time, effort, understanding, and patience to adapt, to accommodate , "to erode, to infiltrate, to rebuild, and to refine deeply ingrained practice and beliefs" (Jenks, 1992, p. 7). The tune is called by the host institution and manifested through the students. Imposition of Western solutions might not help deal with local problems. Fundamental changes -- the second-order change -- lie in the hands of the local people rather than the external forces which serve only as catalysts. In this sense, foreign teachers' participation becomes a complementary part of the ELT programs in China. To enact such a complementary role, foreign teachers' understanding of the local cultures and Chinese classroom cultures becomes a vital element in bringing their teaching to success.

Foreign teachers' teaching is situated in networks which involve many complicating factors, such as the intricate nature of educational philosophies, the cultures of learning, the centrality of social structures and social relations, roles, expectations, perceptions, meanings and interpretations ascribed to the performance by all participants. Differences in cultural values and beliefs inevitably create problems in intercultural communication. Attempts to eradicate all the differences and to fight against the inevitability may not help much in resolving the problems. This thesis proposes making use of "border pedagogy" as one of the solutions to the problems. Border pedagogy legitimises and respects the differences and "otherness" stemming from differing cultural values and beliefs. It acknowledges the existence of a "borderline" between teachers and students, which is constructed socio-culturally, historically, and psychologically. The borderline may be crossed through trust, mutual understanding, and determination, but it can never be removed because different socialisations, interests, ideologies, and values often prevent the participants from reaching a consensus.

Border pedagogy sees the inevitability of differences, conflicts, and "otherness" in a positive light in that they allow the participants to question their beliefs and practices and provide them with opportunities to challenge the status quo and create a new equilibrium in the eco-system by adding dynamics to it. However, conflicts can be very harmful if they are not well managed within the bounds of the existing system. Teachers need to step back to continuously re-examine their practices by looking into "the subjective, interactional, and cultural dimensions of social life" (Terres & Morrow, 1998, p. 12) and to identify the sources of the conflicts, and their impact upon teaching and learning, in light of accumulated evidence and changing circumstances.

On such a premise, border pedagogy attempts to create a cultural synergy necessary for optimal conditions for border crossing. The synergy encourages the establishment of a supportive environment in which members of two different cultures try to understand each other's culture without losing their identities and without threatening each other's values, to learn from each other by making the best use of their strengths, and to share a common space identified from emergent differences. The border concept requires teachers to re-examine and question their core values and fundamental assumptions upon which their pedagogical actions are based, so as to ensure that their teaching is attuned to the students' culture of learning. In this sense, teachers need to be aware of the students' culture of learning, their lived experiences, the local socio-cultural realities, and the educational philosophies in the host culture. Educational theories, teaching principles, and the concepts of teaching and learning "are mostly situation-specific and are fully valid and operational only in the sociolinguistic frames and epistemological traditions they have been conceived in" (Nayar, 1989, p. 30). The awareness of the students' cultural values and beliefs will help teachers cross the borderline by adopting teaching methods appropriate and relevant to the local needs.

Border pedagogy calls for teachers' constant inquiry, exploration, negotiation, tolerance, and reflection by fighting against rigidity, dogmas, and violent impositions. A reflective approach will help teachers view their teaching practice from different perspectives, expand their vision, and adopt appropriate and flexible teaching methods, and to re-align their teaching to relate to learner's needs, expectations and interpretative frameworks rather than to persist in the taken-for-granted clock logic resulting from their subjective projections. Reflection is of particular importance in enacting pedagogical innovations in cross-cultural settings where the pedagogical appropriateness is located in the local cultural contexts rather than in teachers' own subjective interpretations. The study emphasises that violent imposition of one system upon another, without regard to the local contexts, values, and realities, will inevitably result in failure. Foreign teachers need to have a large repertoire of teaching options to empower them to always look for new approaches in changing circumstances. One single approach, however effective it is in one context, will not guarantee pedagogical success in another. E ven in one context, teaching could never be effective if the teacher insisted on a narrow range of teaching methods. In fact, in language teaching, there is no one single approach that applies in all situations all the time. Teaching in this sense is always in a state of becoming. Therefore, teachers' persistent learning, exploration and inquiry are necessary to enable them to identify the differences, the perceptual gaps, the problems, and to find possible solutions to close the gaps and resolve the problems.

The enactment of border pedagogy requires an establishment of a collaborative culture which will allow native and non-native teachers to share and develop each other's expertise together, to build a collective strength to resolve problems, to promote trust and mutual understandings, and to search for better alternatives to improve their teaching. The collaborative culture recognises the strengths and weaknesses of both native and non-native teachers. The central role of the collaborative culture is to maximise the complementary expertise to achieve optimal results in teaching, learning and joint research. The study argues that the collaborative culture will enable foreign teachers to quicken the pace of their cultural adaptation, to transcend "otherness" and the constraints derived from cultural differences, and to cross the cultural borderline to reach out to the students. However, creating an effective collaborative culture is not an easy task as collaboration involves many socio-cultural factors, such as cultural knowledge, shared goals, coordination, leaderships, communication skills, identities and status, personal interests, and a sense of responsibility, all having a powerful influence upon success or failure of the establishment and the continuity of the collaborative culture.

The effectiveness and efficiency of the collaborative culture, the study argues, requires administratively initiated, multi-dimensional involvement in the host institution's social and academic activities to overcome some cultural constraints that prevent border crossing. Involvement will enable foreign teachers to have a sense of belonging, to better understand Chinese cultural values, educational philosophies, the backgrounds of the students, their learning needs, expectations and preferences, and the students' subjective worlds and to help create a supportive environment in which different voices can be heard, confidence built, common concerns addressed, foreign teachers' potential mobilised, and their expertise maximised. The notion of involvement requires socio-cultural knowledge and managing skills on the part of the Chinese administrators.

In the process of involvement, the Chinese administrators are advised to be aware of the potentials and limitations of the recruited foreign teachers and the potential cultural incompatibilities in the imported expertise. They should realise that foreign teachers' teaching cannot be as perfect as ideally expected because expertise is always partial, and that pedagogy, which is culture- and situation-specific, may not be successfully repeated in and transferred to another context in an unmodified form. Such an understanding reinforces the argument that engagements of foreign teachers in various social and professional activities, together with their constant reflections and explorations, will provide them with opportunities to find teaching options that are appropriate to the local priorities and needs. Denial of such opportunities cannot lead to maximising foreign expertise. What is pedagogised should be appropriate and relevant to the students' needs and expectations, but the appropriateness and relevance are made meaningful only in relation to teachers' prior experiences and their professional knowledge (Widdowson, 1993). Involvement will enable foreign teachers to make the best use of their professional experiences, to match their teaching to students' learning needs, and to allow the Chinese administrators to re-examine their fundamental assumptions in regard to their recruiting policies and practices, and to examine their fundamental values and beliefs about the functioning of their institution. They play a key role in assisting all participants in crossing borders and in maximising foreign expertise.

To conclude, foreign teachers' teaching is situated in the Chinese cultural contexts, and has therefore been largely constrained by those contexts. Cultural values and beliefs seem to have had a significant impact on foreign teachers' and Chinese students' perceptions, roles, expectations, and interpretative frameworks. Disparities in perceptions of roles and expectations seem to have brought about the teacher-student discord as shown in role conflicts resulting from cultural incompatibilities, particularly in the reshaping of teacher-student roles and relationships, in the process of introducing Western communicative language teaching. Foreign teachers' pedagogical innovations were strongly resisted, at least by a limited number of the Chinese students whose satisfaction was negatively correlated with the length of their exposure to foreign teachers. The consequence of such perceptions was students' frustration and disappointment. The difficulties seem to lie in the apparent mismatch between foreign teachers' intentions and Chinese students' perceptions and interpretations. Finding a pedagogic match is of great importance in successfully introducing foreign expertise that will benefit Chinese ELT programs.

Finding a pedagogic match requires foreign teachers' linguistic, socio-cultural, and pedagogic awareness, and an awareness of their own cultural values, their own fundamental assumptions about language teaching and learning, language teaching and learning theories, and those of the local culture. Direct application of Western solutions to the Chinese problems, either by foreign or Chinese teachers, is problematic. Foreign teachers' involvement is seen as providing additional alternatives to ELT theories and practices in China rather than replacing the entire educational system. In this sense, foreign teachers' role is complementary rather than revolutionary. Therefore, cultural compatibilities are of critical importance in pedagogical transference. To be pedagogically relevant and appropriate requires foreign teachers to recognise the existence of the borderline that is social-culturally, linguistically, and psychologically constructed. Border pedagogy may help both foreign teachers and Chinese students to break the border to reach out to each other by crossing each other's borders, and to reach a consensus through negotiations and compromise, and finally to reach shared agendas in a supportive environment created in synergetic and collaborative cultures in which differing views are respected, differences in cultural values and beliefs legitimised, convergence emphasised, and mutual trust built, through collective efforts and productive engagements. The success of a limited number of foreign teachers in China suggests that there is hope of reconciling the irreconcilable. I agree with Maley (1985, p. 169) that "the differences are not as absolute as those between chalk and cheese, with *flexibility* of approach the circle can be squared" (italics added), and the square peg can also be shaped to fit the round hole.

7.2 The Contribution of the Study

This study has explored a large range of issues related to language teaching and learning, intercultural communication, and pedagogical innovations in cross-cultural settings. Different voices have been attended to, and converging themes dealt with.

The aim of this research, as pointed out in Chapters One and Two, was to identify the sources of the problems surrounding English-speaking teachers' involvement in the ELT programs in China, and to explore possible solutions to these problems so as to maximise foreign expertise. Investigation revealed that there was no single cause of or solution to these problems. Having opened up a large range of concerns, some of which have been hotly debated, and some neglected, in research in language teaching and learning in cross-cultural backgrounds, this study has contributed some insights to the repertoire of educational theory and practices for those who are interested in, have been or will be engaged in, English language teaching in China, to have a better understanding of the problem and to avoid it or resolve it by devising appropriate methodologies. Many of the issues raised in the study, it is hoped, will benefit those who are involved in introducing contemporary Western teaching methods to another cultural context. The findings will alert them to the problems of inevitable cultural incompatibilities and role conflicts resulting from differences in perceptual interpretations on the basis of the participants' value judgements and belief systems, allow them to proactively and reflectively make explicit, examine and question their own fundamental assumptions and cultural values about language teaching and learning, and finally to identify the differences between intentions and outcomes for all involved.

The concept of border pedagogy applied in language teaching in cross-cultural settings contributes to educational theory in that it encourages the creation of synergetic and collaborative cultures which emphasise the co-presence of differing views, values, and attitudes within a framework of constant learning, mutual trust, respect, and collaboration. It sets out the bases for legitimising different traditions, values, and norms, from each of which valuable assets can be drawn to maximise the strengths and minimise the weaknesses. Such an argument acknowledges that both native and non-native teachers have their advantages and disadvantages, and that both are equally effective in teaching the language. Such a recognition emphasises the complementary expertise rather than the native-speaker-ideal fallacy.

Teaching in cross-cultural settings requires expatriate teachers to become linguistically, socio-culturally, and pedagogically aware of their classroom performance. The importance of such awareness can never be over-emphasised. It can be difficult to expect the students to cross the borderline to the teacher unless the teacher takes an initiative to cross the line first. Those who implement a communicative language approach must be communicative enough to get their ideas accepted instead of imposing them upon the students who may fail to see the benefits embedded in the approach as the teacher does. The awareness, together with adoption of a reflective approach, will provide teachers with insights into, and new understanding of, the tasks in relation to pedagogical, linguistic and cultural issues.

The cultural issues raised in this study indicate that cultural understanding is very important in language teaching and learning in an EFL context that differs sharply from the ESL contexts. Most difficulties encountered by foreign teachers were associated with lack of cultural insights on the part of all participants involved. In the discourse of change, foreign teachers' expertise was vigorously advocated and implemented. However, many foreign teachers, Chinese teachers and administrators did not seem to recognise the gulf between their intentions and the desired outcomes that was the consequence of differences in cultural values and belief systems. Rarely did they realise that the pedagogy, as a socio-cultural product, is value-laden, that the implementation of pedagogical innovations aiming at educating Chinese students to live in Western societies by socialising students with Western beliefs and values, will inevitably lead to teacher-student clashes, internal contradictions, and communication problems when those students see themselves remaining in China. Thus, consideration of cultural and pedagogical compatibilities becomes one of the teaching priorities. Cultural shaping may have prevented all participants from walking out of their own cultural shadow and from taking an attitude to learn, to adapt, adjust, and accommodate. Lack of the awareness of the cultural barriers have hampered each other's effort and good intentions to bring about positive changes in the ELT in China. In this respect, this study has shed some light on the issues involving cultural understanding and has helped close the gap by providing a better understanding of Chinese perceptions of foreign teachers' teaching by encouraging other researchers to continue to build the bridge.

CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSION

The findings in this research constitute a substantial contribution to learning. It was pointed out in Chapter Two that previous studies, largely done by Western teachers, scholars, and researchers, concentrated on the Chinese learners and teachers, their attitudes towards teaching and learning, their classroom behaviours, and the English language teaching situations in China. It was the views of Western teachers and researchers, rarely those of the Chinese students, teachers and administrators, that were documented. This study, in an effort to holistically report and analyse not only one-sided views but the views of all those involved in the same context, has filled the missing paradigm in ELT profession. This field of inquiry offers both practical and theoretical challenges to the field of applied linguistics. The substantial body of questionnaire and interview data collected from a significant sampled population within one specific context, for the first time, enabled the researcher to uncover, in a systematic and empirical way, the nature of some problems and conflicts that have their causes at a deeper level. This research looks into the role conflict, expectation conflict and teaching-learning culture conflicts between the expatriate teachers of English on the one hand, and the tertiary Chinese teachers and students of English and Chinese administrators on the other in a cross-referring, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic context. One of the most important outcomes of this study is that a language teacher needs three types of awareness -- language awareness, cultural awareness, and pedagogical awareness. What is suggested in the study is that there is a need for a shift from currently popular methodological emphasis towards a language-culture awareness emphasis in EFL teacher preparation, the latter having been inadequately researched. The research results have a significant bearing on role conflicts, pedagogical expectations and teacher-student relationship in a cross-cultural teaching learning context. The proposed use of "border pedagogy" defined in the thesis provides a sensible measure to rectify the problem situation so far revealed. In this sense, this thesis has made an important contribution to knowledge in applied linguistics and in the EFL field.

7.3 Limitations and Further Research

In the search for possible answers to the questions raised in Chapters One and Two, this study explored the influence of cultural values and beliefs on perceptions, interpretations, concepts of teaching and learning, roles, and expectations. The inquiry involved a large range of concerns: the Chinese foreign teacher employment policies, role theory, change theory, issues in language teaching and learning, teaching pedagogies, and intercultural communication. The purpose of the study was to identify converging themes from different perspectives so as to gain a better understanding of the sources of the initial problems set out for this research. The answer to the research questions could not be found easily by conducting the research on a narrow range of issues only. The nature of the research questions required a synthesised multi-dimensional pursuit. It was hoped that each dimension would contribute to the study. The attempts, however, were limited by the many external constraints that were beyond the researcher's control. These limitations require further research.

7.3.1 Limitations

Firstly, a large number of the sampled students came from rural areas where transmission styles of teaching were more widely used than in big cities where the communicative approach has already been more extensively introduced (Li, 1984; Ross, 1993). Their previous learning experiences and socialisation had shaped their perceptions and role expectations in such a way that challenging their beliefs became difficult for both foreign and Chinese teachers. In contrast to the student population in large cities, like Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Tianjin, the current sampled population might be less open and more conservative. As a result, the problems encountered by foreign teachers in this province might differ significantly from those in other universities in other areas. When geographical and ethnographic issues are taken into consideration, whether this study has dealt with some common problems or just some local-culture-specific problems needs further investigation.

Secondly, the sampled student population had been exposed to different foreign teachers at the same time, and over the years of their learning. This study intentionally excluded First Year university students from interviews on the premise that the less the students interacted with the foreign teachers, the less they would understand the real value of foreign teachers' teaching. The interviews were conducted amongst students from Years Two to Four. The composition of the student population and their length of exposure to foreign teachers' teaching made it difficult for the researcher to determine whether their current views were the perceptions of their current foreign teachers or those of their previous ones. Revisiting the data revealed that the students' remarks were characteristic of overall generalisation, coupled with some supporting evidence. The blurring of a sense of time made the decoding of the message difficult. It might be the case that the students had been taught by very good foreign teachers before, but the current foreign teachers' "bad" teaching might have obliterated the memories of these foreign teachers "good" teaching. It might be equally true that the students, who had had unhappy learning experiences with their previous foreign teachers, might have viewed negatively the current "good" teachers within the same perceptual frameworks. Thus negative impressions might linger and predominate in the data at the expense of more positive views.

Thirdly, the sampled student population, all learning English as a major, came from different institutions, each having distinct educational goals. The names of the institutions participating in this survey indicates the complexity of learner needs and goals: one comprehensive university, one teachers' university, three teachers' colleges, one provincial institute of education, one polytechnic university, one television and broadcasting university, one national institute for ethnic minorities. The list suggests that these institutions employed foreign teachers for different purposes, and that students in different institutions embraced differing expectations and attitudes towards teaching and learning. These institutional perspectives made it difficult for the researcher to identify their shared interests and problems by using the same set of questionnaires and interviewing outlines. It is beyond the scope of this research to explore whether differences in career orientations in different institutions might have affected their expectations of foreign teachers.

Fourthly, this study was based mainly on two data-collecting instruments: questionnaires and interviews. Although most views from the interviews provided supporting evidence for this study, how validly these views reflected the reality remains unclear, because it was difficult for the researcher to determine how much truth was contained in the stories told by the informants. It was beyond the researcher's capacity to take a triangulated approach to undertake discrete point-to-point investigations through classroom observations to ensure the validity and reliability of the given stories. For the reasons of time constraints, political and ethical issues, I did not have opportunities to observe foreign teachers' classes to have the first-hand experience of what was happening in the classroom, and at the same time to carefully examine the validity of the claims and allegations made by each individual informant. It must be emphasised, however, that this study did aim to investigate the perceptions of the informants and that as such it did achieve its aim.

Fifthly, due to the challenges involved in gathering data, the number of certain populations, foreign teachers (n = 24) and Chinese administrators (n = 15), in particular, is relatively small, small enough to raise questions about the generalisations made based on these samples. The data would have been more convincing if a larger number of these two populations had been involved in the survey.

Finally, the survey upon which this study is based was undertaken from March to May in 1997. Since then, China has experienced drastic socio-economic and political changes (Huang, 1998; Chen, 1998b). These changes surely have had an enormous impact on education, on concepts of teaching and learning, on attitudes towards knowledge, on students' perceptions and expectations, and on recruiting policies and practices. What appeared to be problems at the time when the survey was conducted may not be problems by now, and new problems may have emerged. It is worth noting that the number of foreign language teachers is to be sharply reduced by sixty per cent (AI6, AI8, AI13), and the number of foreign teachers and experts in other disciplines, such as computer sciences, engineering, physical sciences, mathematics, business and commerce, will be increased rapidly. The problems that will be encountered in these disciplines may differ considerably from the problems encountered by the foreign teachers who have been teaching English to English language majors.

7.3.2 Further Research

Firstly, as indicated previously, a large number of students involved in this study came from rural areas. Their beliefs, expectations and their accommodating capacities might differ from those in larger cities. A replication of this study with a more urban student population is highly recommended to determine if students' beliefs, expectations, perceptions and performance are correlated with previous learning experiences in different localities.

Secondly, the study has revealed that foreign teachers' teaching is inversely correlated with students' satisfaction. It is particularly advisable that a longitudinal study be undertaken to observe the development of the attitudes of the Chinese students, administrators, and foreign teachers, to identify how different forces combine to influence teaching and learning.

Thirdly, this study proposes border pedagogy as a solution to the problems in language teaching in cross-cultural settings. However, it can be pragmatically difficult to put such a border pedagogy into actual classroom practice. It is simply naive to regard it as a sole solution. More work is needed in the area of action research that involves project designs, objectives, observations, experimenting, enacting and assessing procedures. Action research, if jointly taken by Chinese and foreign teachers, might help uncover some fundamental causes of the problems identified and find possible solutions to these problems. At the same time, it can be beneficial to educate those involved in hiring. It is hoped a lot of problems stemming from negative behaviour on part of expatriate teachers could be avoided with more education about hiring expatriate teachers. Border crossing could be slow or impossible without such an educating process.

Fourthly, the study is of perceptions of and by expatriate English teachers in China. These perceptions are not the same as evidence of success or lack of success that could be attributed in some way to the English teaching that the Chinese English language majors received. It is possible that in spite of their misgivings about their expatriate English teachers, there might have been some positive effects. Further research is needed to investigate how those successful expatriate English teachers overcome the negative effect of expatriate teaching and how opinions translate into evidence of success or lack of it.

Fifthly, it was suggested in the previous chapters that teacher-student role expectations are mediated through pedagogy. The argument was supported by reference to a very specific pedagogy, i.e., that associated with communicative language teaching. This study concentrated on the response from students in the discipline of English language studies. It can be very useful to have comparative data from students (if possible from the same student population) with respect to foreign teachers who teach them in other subject areas.

Finally, many socio-cultural and political factors combine to contribute to language teaching and learning. What has been dealt with is very limited in breadth and depth. Many issues that may contribute to foreign teachers' teaching need further investigation:

- Environmental influence upon learning, especially the influence of Chinese socio-political environments;
- the influence of the state-prescribed English curricula and textbooks, assessing procedures, external examinations (such as the College and University Entrance Examination, Band Four and Band Eight, the English Proficiency Test, TOEFL, GRE, and IELTS);
- Chinese students' learning preferences, motivations, genders, and ethnic background;
- Chinese administrators' management skills;
- Chinese organisational structures and functions

Further research in these areas will help paint a larger picture of the influences of socio-cultural factors upon foreign teachers' teaching. Identification of the problems will help practitioners to devise appropriate strategies to cope with them, and to bring their teaching to a success.

APPENDIX ONE HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Faculty Human Ethics Committee

LA TROBE
UNIVERSITY

TO: Mr Mingsheng Li - Chisholm College

FROM: Ted Osbourne, Secretary, Faculty Human Ethics Committee

SUBJECT: **Project:96/ 104-Cross-cultural challenges: Issues of English native speakers teaching English at tertiary level in China**

DATE: 5 September, 1996

The Faculty Human Ethics Committee has considered your application for a research project involving human participants. **I am pleased to advise that your application has been approved until 25 July 1998.**

Would you please note that the following standard conditions apply:

(a) **Limit of Approval:** approval is limited strictly to the research proposal as submitted in your application

(b) **Variation to Project:** as a consequence, if you wish to make any subsequent variations or modifications to your project you must notify the Committee formally using the appropriate form ("Application for Approval of Modification to Research Project"), copies of which are available from the Secretary, Human Ethics Committee. The Committee will consider approval for the proposed changes. If the Committee considers that the proposed changes are significant, you may be required to submit a new application for approval of the revised project

(c) **Progress Report:** you are required to submit the attached Progress Report form to the Committee annually, or at the conclusion of your project if it continues for less than a year. Failure to submit a progress report at the end of the year will mean approval for this project will lapse

If you have any further queries on these matters, or require additional information, please do not hesitate to contact the Secretary of the Faculty Human Ethics Committee.

Yours sincerely,

E N Osbourne

[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Declaration of Informed Consent

I give my informed consent to participate in the interview concerning English language teaching in China. I consent to publication of study results so long as the information is anonymous and disguised so that no identification can be made. I further understand that although a record will be kept of my having participated in the discussions, all data collected from my participation will be identified by number or letters only.

(1) I have been informed that my participation in this interview/panel discussion will involve my presence face to face with the interviewer (or with others in group discussions).

(2) I have been informed that the general purpose of this interview/discussion is to collect some data about English language teaching, especially teaching by foreign teachers, in my department.

(3) I have been informed that there are no known expected discomforts or risks involved in my participation in the interview/discussion.

(4) I have been informed that there are no "disguised" procedures in this discussion. All procedures can be taken at face value.

(5) I have been informed that the interviewer will gladly answer any questions regarding the procedures of this interview/discussion when the survey is completed.

(6) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the interview/group discussion any time without penalty of any kind.

Concerns about this interview may be referred to

Chair, the Human Ethics Committee
Faculty of Social Sciences
La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria 3083
Australia

____________________ (Interviewer)

____________________ (Interviewee)

Date: ______ / ______ / ______
Day Month Year

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FOREIGN TEACHERS

(CONFIDENTIAL) CODE FT __________

Please take some time to fill in this questionnaire as carefully and as completely as you can. No personal identification of your response is necessary.*

Part One Background Information

1. What is your highest academic or professional qualification?

☐ BA = 36.4%
☐ MA = 63.6%

2. What is your professional status in China (Tick one only)?

☐ Foreign Expert	54.5%
☐ Foreign Teacher	45.5%
☐ Other (please specify) __________	0%.

3. What course(s) at the undergraduate level are you teaching/have you taught?

____

4. How long have you taught at the university/department?

____

5. What is the purpose of your teaching English in China?

____

____

____

---

* Twelve foreign teachers responded to the questionnaire.

Part Two Views on the Role of Foreign Teachers

Section 1

Please indicate your views by circling the number on each of the following statements (circle **ONE** only)

Key to the scale:

1 = strongly agree **2** = agree **3** = not sure **4** = disagree **5** = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Foreign teachers' participation in English teaching is important in updating English teaching standards in China.	33.3	58.4	0	8.3	0
2. English teaching in China by foreign teachers is a success.	8.3	50.0	41.7	0	0
3. In teaching English, foreign teachers play a role that Chinese teachers can not fulfil.	41.7	50.0	0	8.3	0
4. The contribution of foreign teachers in their English teaching in China is very important to Chinese English education.	33.3	50.0	8.3	8.3	0
5. Foreign teachers' success in English teaching English in China owes to the collaboration of Chinese and foreign teachers.	8.3	58.4	25.0	8.3	0
6. Foreign teachers are well trained to teach Chinese learners.	0	8.3	66.7	25.0	0
7. There is no point in employing foreign teachers to teach English in China.	0	0	8.3	0	91.7
8. It takes time and effort for foreign teachers to adapt to the Chinese teaching environments.	25.0	66.7	0	8.3	0
9. Differences in foreign teachers' expectations and Chinese students can cause misunderstandings.	25.0	66.7	0	8.3	0
10. Foreign teachers' teaching is often constrained by the Chinese English learning environments.	0	66.7	8.3	25.0	0
11. Chinese students benefit from foreign teachers' teaching.	41.7	41.7	16.7	0	0
12. Only through close collaboration with Chinese teachers can the role of foreign teachers be maximally fulfilled.	25.0	41.6	16.7	16.7	0
13. In pedagogy, foreign teachers are better than Chinese teachers.	8.3	16.7	50.0	25.0	0
14. Foreign teachers' different motivations of teaching English in China result in different outcomes.	16.7	58.3	16.7	8.3	0
15. The teaching methods used by foreign teachers match the expectations of the Chinese students.	0	16.7	33.3	50.0	0
16. It is difficult for foreign teachers to change Chinese students' learning habits.	8.3	50.0	33.4	8.3	0

17. The presence of foreign teachers in China challenges traditional Chinese English teaching approaches.	0	66.6	16.7	16.7	0
18. Foreign teachers' teaching experience is more important than their academic qualifications in their teaching in China.	25.0	50.0	25.0	0	0
19. Foreign teachers' teaching has little impact on the Chinese English education system.	0	25.0	50.0	25.0	0
20. I regret having ever taught English in China.	0	0	0	8.3	91.7
21. Chinese recruiting practices have caused an inflow of unqualified foreign teachers.	8.3	25.0	66.7	0	0
22. For the host institutions, the main purpose of employing foreign teachers is to provide language learning contexts for Chinese students.	0	58.3	16.7	8.3	16.7
23. For Chinese host institutions, the purpose of employing foreign teachers is to fill the gap of teacher shortage.	0	0	41.7	41.7	16.7
24. The only contribution foreign teachers make is their ability to speak their native language.	0	0	0	58.3	41.7
25. For foreign teachers, their primary goal in teaching English in China is to introduce their Western styles of teaching and learning.	0	16.7	25.0	50.0	8.3
26. Foreign teachers teaching in China are excluded from policy making at the university..	25.0	41.7	16.7	16.7	0
27. Few foreigners are dedicated to their teaching in China.	0	33.3	58.3	8.3	0

Section 2

1. How would you view your role as a Foreign Expert/Foreign Teacher in China (Tick ONE only)?

☐ Extremely important	16.7%
☐ Important	58.3%
☐ Not sure	16.7%
☐ Unimportant	8.3%
☐ Extremely unimportant	0%

2. Has your role as Foreign Expert/Foreign Teacher been fully utilised (Tick ONE only)?

☐ Yes 16.7% ☐ No 58.3% ☐ Not sure 25.0%

3. How would you describe your rapport with Chinese students (Tick ONE only)?

☐ Very good	☐ Good	☐ Ordinary	☐ Bad	☐ Very bad
50.0%	41.7%	8.3%	0%	0%

4. How would you describe Chinese students' approaches to learning (Tick ONE only)?

☐ Extremely successful	16.7%
☐ Successful	50.0%
☐ Not sure	25.0%
☐ Unsuccessful	8.3%
☐ Extremely unsuccessful	0%

5. How would you describe Chinese students' learning motivations (Tick ONE only)?

☐ Highly motivated	16.7%
☐ Motivated	33.3%
☐ Not sure	25.0%
☐ Unmotivated	25.0%
☐ Extremely unmotivated	0%

6 How would you describe your teaching outcomes in China (Tick ONE only)?

☐ Extremely successful	8.3%
☐ Successful	66.7%
☐ Not sure	16.7%
☐ Unsuccessful	8.3%
☐ Extremely unsuccessful	0%

Part Three Views on English Teaching and Learning

Section 1 English Teaching Approaches

Please indicate your views by circling the number on each of the following statements (circle **ONE** only).

Key to the scale:

1 = strongly agree **2** = agree **3** = not sure **4** = disagree **5** = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Direct transfer of Western English teaching approaches to China is unrealistic.	8.3	58.4	0	25.0	8.3
2. Adapting Western English teaching approaches to suit the needs of the Chinese students is essential in teaching English in China.	16.7	50.0	33.3	0	0
3. In English teaching in China, diverse teaching approaches should be adopted in order to meet the needs of students.	25.0	75.0	0	0	0
4. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches are compatible with Western English teaching approaches.	0	33.3	41.7	25.0	0
5. In pedagogy, Chinese teachers are in a better position than foreign teachers to identify the needs of the students.	25.0	16.7	25.0	33.3	0
6. In pedagogy, Chinese teachers should learn from foreign teachers.	0	50.0	33.3	16.7	0
7. Traditional Chinese English teaching techniques suit the needs of the Chinese students.	0	16.6	41.7	41.7	0
8. The communicative language teaching approach fits the needs of Chinese students.	0	50.0	41.7	8.3	0
9. Chinese teaching and learning contexts prevent foreign teachers from implementing Western teaching approaches.	0	16.7	41.7	41.7	0

10. The teaching principles derived from the Chinese cultural contexts match the needs of Chinese students	0	16.7	58.3	25.0	0
11. There is no point in changing current Chinese English teaching approaches.	0	0	8.3	66.7	25.0
12. The lecture-dominated approach is more acceptable to Chinese students than the student-centred approach in teaching English in China.	16.7	16.7	33.3	16.7	16.7
13. The integration of traditional Chinese English teaching approaches with Western teaching techniques is essential in English teaching in China.	16.7	75.0	0	8.3	0
14. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches stifle a student's creative potential.	16.7	41.7	16.7	25.0	0
15. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches emphasise conformity rather than individuality.	25.0	50.0	25.0	0	0
16. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches emphasise book knowledge more than the use of the language.	25.0	66.7	8.3	0	0
17. Chinese teaching methods emphasise established knowledge.	0	66.7	16.7	16.7	0
18. One can not learn a language well without learning its literary texts.	0	50.0	16.7	33.3	0
19. The Chinese methods of teaching foreign languages are primitive.	0	0	66.7	25.0	8.3
20. In Chinese teaching methods, there is an overemphasis on linguistic forms.	0	41.7	50.0	8.3	0

Section 2 Views on the Use of Textbooks

1. For Chinese students, textbooks are essential for learning English.	27.3	54.5	0	18.2	0
2. For Chinese students, textbooks are the embodiment of knowledge.	0	45.5	45.5	8.3	0
3. For Chinese students, teaching means imparting knowledge embedded in textbooks.	0	72.7	18.2	9.1	0
4. For Chinese students, teaching means the skilful explication of the prescribed texts.	0	90.9	9.1	0	0
5. Learning means absorption and consolidation of the knowledge acquired from textbooks.	0	36.4	18.2	45.5	0
5. The use of the state-approved textbooks in China Prevents teachers' innovations in teaching.	0	36.4	27.3	36.4	0
6. Chinese approaches to English learning are text-oriented.	27.3	63.6	9.1	0	0

Section 3 Views on Intensive Reading Courses

1. Intensive Reading courses in China are the most effective ways to English learning.	0	9.1	54.5	36.4	0
2. Intensive Reading courses in the English program in China are important in developing students' linguistic and analytical abilities.	0	45.5	45.5	9.1	0
3. Intensive Reading courses in China shape the learning modes of other English courses for Chinese learners.	9.1	36.4	54.5	0	0
4. Intensive Reading courses in China ignore a student's language communicative competence.	9.1	36.4	54.5	0	0
5. Intensive Reading courses ignore the quantity of learning input.	9.1	27.3	63.6	0	0

Section 4 Views on Examinations

1. The Chinese examination system has a great impact on English teaching standards in China.	36.4	27.3	36.4	0	0
2. The Chinese examination system dictates English teaching patterns for Chinese teachers.	27.3	36.4	36.4	0	0
3. The Chinese examination system emphasises language forms rather than language communicative competence.	36.4	36.4	27.3	0	0
4. The Chinese examination system prevents teachers from adopting new teaching techniques.	9.1	36.4	45.5	9.1	0
5. Those who can help students to achieve high scores are good teachers.	0	27.3	9.1	54.5	9.1

Section 5 Beliefs

Key to the scale:

1 = strongly agree 2 = agree 3 = not sure 4 = disagree 5 = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. A teacher's authority lies in his/her command of the knowledge of the subject(s) he/she is teaching.	18.2	54.5	0	27.3	0
2. A teacher without authority can not gain a student's respect.	9.1	72.7	9.1	9.1	0
3. A teacher should be a model for students in learning.	36.4	54.5	0	9.1	0
4. It is difficult to change one's beliefs about teaching and learning once they are formed.	0	63.6	0	27.3	9.1
5. A student's creativity in the use of a language lies in internalising the system of rules of the language.	18.2	18.2	18.2	45.5	0
6. The more linguistic knowledge is stored in memory, the better the learner will be in the use of the language.	0	9.1	18.2	72.7	0

7. The size of a learner's vocabulary determines one's language competence.	0	18.2	27.3	54.5	0
8. In foreign language teaching, a teacher's task is to impart as much linguistic knowledge as possible.	0	18.2	9.1	72.7	0
9. In language learning, fluency is more important than accuracy.	0	72.7	9.1	18.2	0
10. Accuracy in the use of language is more important than fluency.	0	18.2	36.4	45.5	0
11. Chinese students can learn more in a formal classroom atmosphere than in an informal one.	0	0	36.4	54.5	9.1
12. Chinese students can learn more from lectures than from participating in group activities.	0	9.1	9.1	72.7	9.1
13. In language teaching, students' participation in learning activities enables students to learn more than teachers' lectures.	18.2	45.5	27.3	9.1	0
14. Language learning goes the same process as knowledge learning.	9.1	9.1	36.4	36.4	9.1
15. Language learning is the storing of the linguistic code which will be retrieved later when use is required.	0	45.5	36.4	18.2	0
16. Success in language learning depends on the capacity of memorisation.	0	18.2	27.3	54.5	0
17. How well one learns a language depends on the match between the style of teaching and the style of learning.	9.1	54.5	36.4	0	0
18. Mismatches of views on learning and teaching can cause teacher-student misunderstandings.	18.2	72.7	9.1	0	0

Part Four Use of Teaching Techniques

Please identify the frequencies of the following teaching techniques that you have used in your English teaching (circle **ONE** only).

Key to the Scale:

1 = Always **2** = Very Often **3** = Sometimes **4** = Rarely **5** = Never

	1	2	3	4	5
1 Lecturing most of the time	0	18.2	36.4	36.4	9.1
2 Explaining in detail grammatical rules in reading texts	0	9.1	27.3	27.3	36.4
3 Analysing difficult sentences in reading texts	0	18.2	27.3	27.3	27.3
4 Emphasising the use of tapes and language labs	0	18.2	45.5	9.1	27.3
5 Employing pattern drills	0	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2
6 Doing dictation	9.1	18.2	18.2	18.2	36.4
7 Utilising rote-learning procedures	0	18.2	18.2	27.3	36.4
8 Asking students to recite the text being learned	9.1	9.1	54.5	0	27.3
9 Creating communicative situations for students	27.3	54.5	9.1	9.1	0
10 Emphasising memorisation of vocabulary	0	0	54.5	18.2	27.3
11 Focusing on discourse analysis	9.1	0	63.6	18.2	9.1
12 Focusing classroom goals on linguistic competence	18.2	9.1	36.4	27.3	9.1
13 Guiding students to listen to English radio	0	36.4	36.4	27.3	0

14	Focusing on linguistic structures	9.1	18.2	45.5	27.3	0
15	Explaining the cultural context of vocabulary	27.3	45.5	27.3	0	0
16	Peer correction	9.1	27.3	36.4	0	27.3
17	Role play	9.1	63.6	18.2	9.1	0
18	Pair work	27.3	36.4	27.3	9.1	0
19	Group activities	36.4	36.4	9.1	18.2	0
20	Developing students' communicative competence	27.3	54.5	18.2	0	0
21	Emphasising students' active participation	45.5	36.4	18.2	0	0
22	Focusing on comprehension	0	72.7	18.2	9.1	0
23	Focusing on the use of the language	36.4	54.5	9.1	0	0
24	Emphasising the language input in class	27.3	63.6	9.1	0	0
25	Focusing on grammatical accuracy	9.1	27.3	63.6	0	0
26	Focusing on the form of the language	9.1	45.5	27.3	18.2	0
27	Focusing on the meaning of the language	27.3	45.5	27.3	0	0
28	Focusing on interactive learning skill-building	18.2	72.7	9.1	0	0
29	Focusing on individuality of students	0	81.8	18.2	0	0
30	Organising seminars	0	0	27.3	9.1	63.6

Part Five Views on the Role of Foreign Teachers' Participation in English Teaching in China

Please write your views about the role of foreign teachers' involvement in English language teaching in China: What role have foreign teachers played? What advantages and drawbacks (on the part of the host institutions) are there in employing foreign teachers? What should China do to maximise or improve the use of foreign teachers? (please write on the back of this page if you do not have sufficient space here).

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. All responses will remain confidential.

Mingsheng Li 20 March, 1997

APPENDIX FOUR 4-1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHINESE STUDENTS

问卷调查表

此问卷调查表为研究而用．劳烦您帮助尽可能详尽地填写．不必要指出您的姓名和身份，研究者保证为您所填写的内容保密．谢谢您的支持．

第一部分　基本情况

1 您现在在哪个年级(选择一项，将选项打钩 ✓)

□ 一年级　□ 二年级　□ 三年级　□ 四年级

2 您学习英语的目的是什么(选择恰当的答案, 将选项打钩 ✓)?

- □ 成为一名英语教师．
- □ 成为一名口译员．
- □ 成为一名笔译员．
- □ 成为一名导游．
- □ 希望能在外资企业找到好的工作．
- □ 希望能出国深造．
- □ 其他 (请说明 ________________________________)

第二部分　对教学，学习和外教的作用的看法

请您对以下各句中的观点发表您的看法．每一句之后都有五个选择，把您认为能代表您观点的答案图上(只图 一个 选择)．

符号标示

1= 完全贊成　2 = 贊成　3 = 没把握　4 = 不贊成　5 = 完全不贊成

一．外教的作用

	1	2	3	4	5
1 在外教与中国教师比较中，我更喜欢中国教师上课。	1	2	3	4	5
2 听外教的课可以提高我的听力。	1	2	3	4	5
3 外教比中国教师更善于使用教学技巧。	1	2	3	4	5
4 外教不了解我们学习英语的困难是什么。	1	2	3	4	5
5 外教的课令人失望。	1	2	3	4	5
6 外教的课是浪费学生的时间和精力。	1	2	3	4	5
7 我在外教的客堂上学不到什么东西。	1	2	3	4	5
8 如果外教能懂点中文，可能更了解我们的需要。	1	2	3	4	5
9 对外教期望越高，失望就越大。	1	2	3	4	5
10 想从外教的课堂里学到很多知识是不现实的。	1	2	3	4	5
11 大多数外教的教学没有系统性。	1	2	3	4	5
12 外教的课难使学生语言能力达到高的水平。	1	2	3	4	5
13 外教的课只是对提高英语口语有好处。	1	2	3	4	5
14 中国教师比外籍教师更了解中国学生的需要．	1	2	3	4	5

15 在英语学习方面，中国传统的英语教学方法更适合于我。 1 2 3 4 5
16 中国教师课堂教学比外教的课堂教学能使我能学到更多的知识. 1 2 3 4 5
17 外教的教学不象我们期望的那么好。 1 2 3 4 5
18 外教的课常让我感到紧张。 1 2 3 4 5
19 我喜欢与外教用英语交谈，不喜欢与同学用英语交谈。 1 2 3 4 5
20 一些外教的课堂举止不符合教师规范。 1 2 3 4 5
21 外教的教学方法不符合中国学生实际。 1 2 3 4 5
22 我们在外教的课堂上所花的时间和精力多，但所获甚少。 1 2 3 4 5
23 外教的方法灵活，但我们收获甚少。 1 2 3 4 5
24 一些外教缺乏对中国学生的人格尊重. 1 2 3 4 5
25 一些外教缺乏基本的教师素质. 1 2 3 4 5
26 除了提供英语学习环境外，看不出外教的价值。 1 2 3 4 5
27 有无外教，标志着一所大学的等次。 1 2 3 4 5
28 外教的存在只不过是一种点缀而已。 1 2 3 4 5
29 外教在提高中国英语教学方面扮演着十分重要的角色. 1 2 3 4 5
30 中国教师应向外教学习. 1 2 3 4 5

二． *对教与学的看法*

1 一个教师的威信在于他/她对所教课程知识的掌握程度。 1 2 3 4 5
2 一个没有威信的教师是难于得到学生的尊敬的。 1 2 3 4 5
3 学生不应该在课堂上使老师难堪。 1 2 3 4 5
4 我常把老师当作我学习的榜样。 1 2 3 4 5
5 只有掌握了语言规则，才能创造性地应用语言。 1 2 3 4 5
6 语言学习的成功在于记忆词汇的多少。 1 2 3 4 5
7 记忆的语言知识越多，使用语言的能力就越强。 1 2 3 4 5
8 词汇量的多少决定了学生语言水平的高低。 1 2 3 4 5
9 在外语学习过程中，一个教师的任务就是尽可能多地传授语言文化知识。 1 2 3 4 5
10 过分强调通过小组活动来运用语言将会导致学生语言水平低下。 1 2 3 4 5
11 严肃的课堂气氛能使我学到的知识比非严肃的课堂气氛学到的知识多。 1 2 3 4 5
12 组织严密的课堂教学能使我学到的知识比从小组活动中获得的知识多。 1 2 3 4 5
13 在语言学习过程中，探索新的知识比学习已有的知识更重要。 1 2 3 4 5
14 语言学习就是掌握语言知识，以便将来使用。 1 2 3 4 5
15 听老师讲课比听同学发言能使我学到更多的知识。 1 2 3 4 5
16 不学文学是难于学好一门语言的。 1 2 3 4 5
17 英语精读/综合英语课对我英语水平的提高起到重要作用。 1 2 3 4 5
18 英语精读/综合英语课为我打下了扎实的语言基础。 1 2 3 4 5
19 中国现行的考试制度对提高英语教学质量有重要意义。 1 2 3 4 5
20 中国现行的考试制度决定着我的学习方式和方法。 1 2 3 4 5

三。 教材的使用

1 对我来说，学习是离不开教材的。	1	2	3	4	5
2 教学的含义就是教师对课文的精辟讲解。	1	2	3	4	5
3 教材是知识的体现。	1	2	3	4	5
4 学习的含义是对书本知识的吸收和巩固。	1	2	3	4	5
5 语言是一种知识，教师可以使用教材传授。	1	2	3	4	5
6 没有教材会使我学习缺乏安全感。	1	2	3	4	5

第三部分　学习方法

请您对以下各句中的观点发表您的看法．每一句之后都有五个选择，把您认为能代表您观点的答案圈上(只圈 一个 选择)．

符号标示

1= 完全赞成　2 = 赞成　3 = 没把握　4 = 不赞成　5 = 完全不赞成

1 记忆单词和词组	1	2	3	4	5
2 听老师讲课	1	2	3	4	5
3 仔细记笔记	1	2	3	4	5
4 高声朗读	1	2	3	4	5
5 听录音磁带	1	2	3	4	5
6 记忆语言规则	1	2	3	4	5
7 收听英语广播	1	2	3	4	5
8 与老师用英语交谈	1	2	3	4	5
9 与同学用英语交谈	1	2	3	4	5
10 参加专题讨论会	1	2	3	4	5
11 阅读英文报纸/杂志	1	2	3	4	5
12 英语精读泛读结合	1	2	3	4	5
13 用辞典查阅生词	1	2	3	4	5
14 猜测生词的含义	1	2	3	4	5
15 练习英语句型	1	2	3	4	5
16 完成老师布置的作业	1	2	3	4	5
17 配对(两人)练习	1	2	3	4	5
18 同学相互改错	1	2	3	4	5
19 表演英语节目	1	2	3	4	5
20 小组活动	1	2	3	4	5
21 课外自学	1	2	3	4	5
22 课前预习	1	2	3	4	5
23 课后复习	1	2	3	4	5
24 参加课堂讨论	1	2	3	4	5
25 用英语写日记	1	2	3	4	5
26 看英语电影	1	2	3	4	5
27 阅读英语文学作品	1	2	3	4	5
28 看英语电视节目	1	2	3	4	5
29 背诵课文	1	2	3	4	5
30 广泛阅读	1	2	3	4	5
31 做大量的口头和笔头练习	1	2	3	4	5
32 背诵与理解相结合	1	2	3	4	5
33 努力提高英语口语表达能力	1	2	3	4	5

34 努力提高英语写作能力	1	2	3	4	5
35了解英语国家的文化	1	2	3	4	5

第四部分　外教在中国英语教学中的作用

请您在下面写上您对外教在中国英语教学中的作用的看法：外教在中国英语教学中的优势是甚么？劣势是什么？什么样的外教是您最喜欢和最不喜欢的？怎样才能充分发挥外教的作用？(如果本页不够写，请写在该页的背面)

谢谢您利用您的宝贵时间填写此问卷。

APPENDIX FOUR 4-2 QUESTIONNAIRES FOR CHINESE STUDENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHINESE STUDENTS

(English Translation)

Please take some time to fill in this questionnaire as carefully and as completely as you can. No personal identification of your response is necessary.[*]

Part One Background Information

1 Which year are you in now (tick one only)?

☐ Year One.	N=52	17.2%
☐ Year Two.	N=81	26.8%
☐ Year Three.	N=96	31.8%
☐ Year Four.	N=62	20.5%
☐ Postgraduate Students	N=11	3.6%
(Total	302	100%)

2 What is your purpose in learning English (tick as many as appropriate)?

☐ To be an English teacher.	N=105	34.7%
☐ To be an interpreter.	N=19	6.3%
☐ To be a translator.	N=13	4.3%
☐ To be a tourist guide.	N=10	3.3%
☐ To find a good job in foreign investment enterprises.	N=47	15.6%
☐ To go abroad to pursue advanced studies.	N=45	14.9%
☐ Other (please specify ______________________)	N=32	10.6%
(More than one answer	N=31	10.3%)

Part Two Views on Teaching and Learning

Please indicate your views by circling the number on each of the following statements (circle **ONE** only).

Section 1 Students' Perceptions of Foreign Teachers' Teaching

Key to the scale:

1= strongly agree **2** = agree **3** = not sure **4** = disagree **5** = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. I prefer Chinese teachers' lessons to foreign teachers' lessons.	10.3	32.5	20.9	33.8	2.6
2. I can improve my listening by attending foreign teachers' lessons.	31.5	55.0	8.9	4.3	0.3
3. Foreign teachers use teaching techniques better than Chinese teachers.	9.3	18.2	28.1	38.7	5.6

---

[*] 302 Chinese students responded to the questionnaire.

4. Foreign teachers do not know our difficulties in learning English.	14.6	40.1	21.9	21.9	1.7
5. Foreign teachers' English teaching is disappointing.	9.3	20.9	16.6	40.4	12.9
6. Foreign teachers' classes waste our time and energy.	6.3	13.9	14.2	42.4	23.2
7. I cannot learn much in foreign teachers' classes.	6.3	18.9	11.3	44.4	19.2
8. If foreign teachers had known some Chinese language they would have been in a better position to understand our learning needs.	20.9	51.0	10.9	14.2	3.0
9. The more we expect from foreign teachers, the more we feel disappointed.	10.6	30.1	22.8	33.1	3.3
10. It is unrealistic to expect to learn much from foreign teachers.	8.3	29.8	19.9	39.7	6.3
11. Most Foreign teachers' teaching is unsystematic.	14.9	33.4	19.2	29.1	3.3
12. Foreign teachers' teaching cannot lead to high proficiency.	6.0	31.1	21.9	36.8	4.3
13. Foreign teachers' teaching is good for oral communication only.	6.0	28.8	15.2	44.0	6.0
14. Chinese teachers can better understand the needs of Chinese students than foreign teachers.	30.5	44.0	10.9	13.2	1.3
15. Traditional Chinese teaching techniques suit me well.	8.9	25.5	22.2	35.1	8.3
16. I can learn more in Chinese teachers' classes than in foreign teachers' classes.	16.9	46.7	15.2	19.9	1.3
17. Very few foreign teachers have lived up to our expectations.	13.9	45.0	20.5	18.9	1.7
18. I often feel nervous in foreign teachers' classes.	7.0	19.9	12.9	45.7	14.6
19. I'd rather like to talk in English with foreign teachers than with my classmates.	7.0	27.2	18.5	38.4	8.9
20. Some foreign teachers' classroom behaviour does not comply with Chinese cultural norms.	8.9	23.2	17.5	39.4	10.9
21. Foreign teachers' teaching techniques do not suit our needs.	6.6	26.5	24.8	35.1	5.0
22. The much time and effort we spend with foreign teachers is not matched by the gains.	13.2	27.2	16.6	37.7	5.3
23. Foreign teachers' classes, though interesting, cannot provide us with much knowledge.	14.9	42.4	12.6	27.5	2.6
24. Some foreign teachers lack respect for Chinese students.	3.0	19.5	21.2	38.7	17.5
25. Some foreign teachers lack basic knowledge for teaching.	4.0	28.1	22.5	34.4	10.9
26. Except for the provision of a foreign language learning environment, I cannot see any worth in employing foreign teachers.	6.6	26.8	15.6	28.4	12.6
27. The presence of foreign teachers symbolises the standards of a tertiary institution.	11.3	29.1	19.9	26.5	13.2
28. To the host institution, the presence of foreign teachers is but a window-dressing.	5.6	17.2	11.6	41.7	23.8
29. Foreign teachers play an important role in updating English teaching in China.	9.6	36.8	23.8	25.8	4.0

30. Chinese teachers should learn from foreign teachers.	13.2	37.7	28.5	16.9	3.6

Section 2 Views on Belief Systems

	1	2	3	4	5
1. A teacher's authority lies in his/her command of the knowledge of the subject(s) he/she is teaching.	27.5	37.7	11.9	19.5	3.3
2. A teacher without authority cannot gain a student's respect.	34.4	4.0	8.6	11.6	2.3
3. A student should not question a teacher's authority.	15.6	51.3	17.2	12.9	3.0
4. I often regard teachers as models in academic pursuit.	8.9	34.4	34.4	19.9	2.3
5. A student's creativity in the use of a language lies in internalising the system of rules of the language.	27.5	47.0	12.6	12.3	0.7
6. The success of language learning depends on the amount of memorised vocabulary.	9.9	45.7	13.2	30.1	1.0
7. The more linguistic knowledge is stored in memory, the better the learner will be in the use of the language.	15.6	45.0	15.2	22.5	1.7
8. The size of a learner's vocabulary determines one's language proficiency.	14.9	43.7	17.9	21.9	1.7
9. In foreign language learning, a teacher's task is to impart as much linguistic knowledge as possible.	12.3	47.0	12.3	27.5	1.0
10. Over-emphasis on production in group activities will lead to a student's low language proficiency.	5.3	20.2	24.2	42.7	7.6
11. I can learn more in a formal classroom atmosphere than in an informal one.	3.6	15.6	13.6	48.0	19.5
12. I can learn more from well-structured lectures than from group activities.	10.6	41.1	18.5	24.2	5.6
13. In language learning, it is far more important to explore new knowledge than to acquire the established knowledge	9.9	34.8	21.5	33.1	0.7
14. Language learning is the storing of the linguistic code which will be retrieved later when use is required.	9.9	48.7	13.9	24.8	2.6
15. I can learn more from teachers' lectures than from discussions of classmates.	8.9	35.8	18.9	34.8	1.7
16. One can not learn a language well without learning its literary texts.	23.8	50.3	16.6	7.0	2.3
17. English Intensive Reading courses contribute much to my English proficiency.	25.8	49.7	11.9	10.3	2.3
18. English Intensive Reading courses has laid a solid linguistic foundation for me.	21.9	50.7	14.6	10.3	2.6
19. The current Chinese examination system is good in updating English teaching standards in China.	7.3	21.9	20.9	37.1	12.9
20. The current Chinese examination system determines the modes of my learning.	15.9	50.3	13.6	13.9	6.3

Section 3 Views on the Use of Textbooks

1. It is impossible for me to learn without textbooks.	17.2	50.7	10.3	18.9	3.0
2. Teaching means the skilful explication of the text.	7.3	27.2	16.2	44.4	5.0
3. Textbooks are the embodiment of knowledge.	6.3	45.7	19.5	25.5	3.0
4. Learning means absorption and consolidation of the knowledge acquired from textbooks.	4.6	40.1	14.6	36.4	4.3
5. Language is knowledge that can be imparted systematically by a teacher using textbooks.	3.3	51.3	19.5	21.9	4.0
6. I do not feel secure in learning without a textbook.	7.6	47.7	20.5	20.5	3.6

Part Three Views on Learning Approaches

Please indicate your views on the following learning approaches (Circling ONE only).

Key to the Scale:
1= extremely important **2** = important **3** = not sure **4** = unimportant **5** = extremely unimportant

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Memorising new words and phrases	71.5	25.5	1.3	0.3	0.3
2. Listening to the teacher's lectures	39.1	54.3	4.0	2.0	0.7
3. Taking detailed notes	22.2	63.9	9.9	3.6	0.3
4. Reading aloud	27.5	51.0	12.3	8.6	0.7
5. Listening to pre-recorded audio-tapes	32.1	56.3	7.6	3.3	0.7
6. Memorising linguistic rules	19.9	59.9	12.3	7.0	1.0
7. Listening to English radio	27.2	58.6	9.9	3.6	0.7
8. Talking in English with teachers	20.9	58.6	15.9	4.3	0.3
9. Talking in English with classmates	19.2	53.6	16.6	8.6	2.0
10. Participating in seminars	9.9	46.7	27.2	13.2	3.0
11. Reading English newspapers/magazines	26.5	61.6	7.6	3.3	1.0
12. Combining intensive reading with extensive reading	32.5	57.3	6.0	3.6	0.7
13. Looking up new words in the dictionary	20.2	60.9	9.6	8.6	0.7
14. Guessing the meaning of unknown words	20.7	63.0	9.7	6.7	0
15. Practising on English patterns/structures	18.2	60.3	14.6	6.3	0.7
16. Working on problems set by the teacher	12.3	50.0	20.5	13.9	3.3
17. Pair work	14.2	42.4	20.2	18.2	5.0
18. Peer correction	7.0	50.3	19.9	17.9	5.0
19. Role plays	11.9	47.0	20.5	16.9	3.6
20. Group activities	10.6	43.7	25.5	15.9	4.3
21. Studying alone	34.1	55.0	7.0	3.0	1.0
22. Previewing the text before class	35.1	58.3	4.3	2.0	0.3
23. Reviewing the text after class	36.1	56.0	5.6	1.3	1.0
24. Participating in classroom discussions	20.5	55.6	12.6	7.9	3.3
25. Writing diaries in English	19.9	53.6	11.9	10.6	4.0
26. Watching English films	19.2	53.0	14.9	10.6	2.3
27. Reading English literary texts	26.2	60.3	8.3	4.0	1.3
28. Watching English programs on TV	19.2	64.6	10.3	4.6	1.3

29. Reciting English texts	23.2	40.4	16.9	15.9	3.6
30. Reading extensively	40.1	53.6	4.6	1.7	0
31. Doing many oral and written exercises	36.1	51.7	9.3	2.0	1.0
32. Memorisation with comprehension	38.1	50.0	7.6	3.3	1.0
33. Emphasising competence in oral English	58.1	39.0	2.4	0	0
34. Emphasising competence in written English	44.8	51.4	2.4	1.0	0.5
35. Understanding the cultures of English-speaking countries	38.1	55.2	4.8	1.4	0.5

Part Four Views on the Role of Foreign Teachers in English Teaching in China

Please write your views on the role of foreign teachers' participation in English teaching in China by answering the following questions: What are the advantages and disadvantages of foreign teachers teaching English in China? What kind of foreign teachers you like best or least? What have you expected foreign teachers to do in class? How to maximise and improve the use of foreign teachers?

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. All responses will remain confidential.

Mingsheng Li *20 March, 1997*

APPENDIX FIVE 5-1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHINESE TEACHRS

问卷调查表

此问卷调查表为研究而用．劳烦您帮助尽可能详尽地填写．不必要指出您的姓名和身份，研究者保证为您所填写的内容保密．谢谢您的支持．

第一部分 基本情况

1 您的最高学历／证书是 ________________
2 您的专业技术职称是 ：________________
3 您正在／已经为英语专业本科学生上过的课程有：
____
4. 您在该校/系任教有多长时间？ ________________

第二部分 对外教作用的看法

请您对以下各句中的观点发表您的看法．每一句之后都有五个选择，把您认为能代表您观点的答案图上(只图 一个 选择)．

符号标示

1= 完全赞成　　2 = 赞成　　3 = 没把握　　4 = 不赞成　　5 = 完全不赞成

	1	2	3	4	5
1 外教的教学参与对提高中国的英语教学水平起到重要的作用．	1	2	3	4	5
2. 中国聘用外教是不成功的．	1	2	3	4	5
3 外教在中国的英语教学中起到了中国教师难于起到的作用．	1	2	3	4	5
4 外教在中国英语教学中的作用不大。	1	2	3	4	5
5 中国英语教学的成就归功于中国师生的努力。	1	2	3	4	5
6 外教对怎样教好中国学生知之甚少．	1	2	3	4	5
7 中国没有必要聘请外教从事英语教学．	1	2	3	4	5
8 一些外教的教学浪费学生的时间和精力．	1	2	3	4	5
9 外教与中国学生的期望不同会引起师生之间的误解．	1	2	3	4	5
10 外教的教学常常受到中国教学实际的影响	1	2	3	4	5
11 外教的教学并没有使中国学生受益．	1	2	3	4	5
12 外教只有与中国教师密切合作才能充分发挥他们的作用．	1	2	3	4	5
13 在教学法方面，中国教师比外教强．	1	2	3	4	5
14 外教到中国任教的动机不同产生不同的教学效果。	1	2	3	4	5
15 外教的许多教学方法不符合中国学生实际．	1	2	3	4	5
16 外教要改变中国学生的学习方式是有困难的。	1	2	3	4	5
17 如果外教能懂点汉语，他们就能更好地了解中国学生学习的困难。	1	2	3	4	5
18 中国学生从外教学到的东西比从中国教师学到的东西多。	1	2	3	4	5
19 对外教的期望越高，失望就越大。	1	2	3	4	5

20 一些外教的劣质教学使得外教形象受损。 1 2 3 4 5
21 外教的教学对中国英语教学体系没有多大影响。 1 2 3 4 5
22 不了解中国学生实际，无敌放矢的教学是难于成功的。 1 2 3 4 5
23 外教的教学改变了中国传统的英语教学方式。 1 2 3 4 5
24 聘请外教的价值在于为中国师生提供一种学习环境. 1 2 3 4 5
25 外教的教学效果比中国教师的教学效果好。 1 2 3 4 5

第三部分　教学，学习的看法

请您对以下各句中的观点发表您的看法．每一句之后都有五个选择，把您认为能代表您观点的答案圈上 (只圈 一个 选择)。

符号标示

1= 完全赞成　2 = 赞成　3 = 没把握　4 = 不赞成　5 = 完全不赞成

1 2 3 4 5

一．　英语教学法

1 在中国直接照搬西方英语教学体系是不会成功的。 1 2 3 4 5
2 把西方英语教学理论与中国学生实际相结合是在中国
交际英教学法不适合中国学生实际。 1 2 3 4 5
4 在中国进行英语教学，要采用各种不同的教学方法，才能满足学生的各种需要。 1 2 3 4 5
5 中国传统英语教学法与西方英语教学法是可相容的。 1 2 3 4 5
6 在教学法方面，中国教师比外教更了解学生的需要。 1 2 3 4 5
7 在教学法方面，中国教师应向外教学习。 1 2 3 4 5
8 中国传统的英语教学法适合中国学生实际。 1 2 3 4 5
9 西方英语教学法适合中国学生实际。 1 2 3 4 5
10 交际英语教学法不适合中国教学实际。 1 2 3 4 5
11 中国教学环境影响着西方英语教学法的实施。 1 2 3 4 5
12 中国文化环境中产生的教学原则适合中国学生实际. 1 2 3 4 5
13 没有必要改变中国目前的英语教学体系. 1 2 3 4 5
14 在中国英语教学中， 以教师讲授为主的教学方式比以学生为主的教学方式更为中国学生接受。 1 2 3 4 5
15 在教学中博采众长乃是在中国英语教学成功的关键。 1 2 3 4 5
16 中国传统的英语教学方式窒息了中国学生的创造力。 1 2 3 4 5
17 中国传统的英语教学方式注重集体性而忽视个性。 1 2 3 4 5
18 中国传统的英语教学方式注重吸收而忽视应用. 1 2 3 4 5
19 师生关系的融洽程度决定着教学的成功与否。 1 2 3 4 5
20 不学文学作品学不好语言的。 1 2 3 4 5

二．　中国外教聘用制度

1 中国外教聘用制度的不完善使得一些不合格的外教到中国任教. 1 2 3 4 5
2 中国聘请外教的主要目的是为学生提供语言学习环境。 1 2 3 4 5
3 对于聘用单位来说，聘请外教的主要目的是为了弥补师资不足 1 2 3 4 5

三．　教材的使用

1 对中国学生来说，教材是学习英语必不可少的。 1 2 3 4 5

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2 对中国学生来说，教材是知识的体现。 1 2 3 4 5
3 教的含义是传授书本中的知识。 1 2 3 4 5
4 学的含义是吸收和巩固书本知识。 1 2 3 4 5
5 使用国家统编教材使得教师难于在教学中创新。 1 2 3 4 5
6 对于中国学生来说， 教的含义是对教材的精辟讲解。 1 2 3 4 5
7 中国的传统英语教学是围绕教材进行的。 1 2 3 4 5

四。 精读/综合英语课程

1 精读/综合英语课是英语学习最有效的一门课程。 1 2 3 4 5
2 精读/综合英语课对提高学生的语言分析能力起到重要作用。 1 2 3 4 5
3 精读/综合英语课为其它英语课程提供了教学模式。 1 2 3 4 5
4 精读/综合英语课忽视了学生语言交际能力的培养。 1 2 3 4 5
5 精读/综合英语课忽视了语言摄入的量。 1 2 3 4 5

五。 考试制度

1 中国考试制度对中国的英语教学影响巨大。 1 2 3 4 5
2 中国的考试制度决定着中国的英语教学方式。 1 2 3 4 5
3 中国的考试制度过分强调语言的形式，忽视了语言交际的能力培养。 1 2 3 4 5
4 中国的考试制度使得教师难于采用新的教学方法。 1 2 3 4 5
5 中国的考试制度应改革以助于教与学。 1 2 3 4 5

六。教学观念

1 一个教师的威信在于他/她对所教课程知识的驾驭能力。 1 2 3 4 5
2 没有威信的教师是难于得到学生尊重的。 1 2 3 4 5
3 教师应该是学生学习的楷模。 1 2 3 4 5
4 已形成的教与学的观念是不易改变的。 1 2 3 4 5
5 学生使用语言的能力在于掌握语言规则和体系。 1 2 3 4 5
6 语言知识记得越多， 运用语言的能力就越强。 1 2 3 4 5
7 词汇量的多少决定着一个人的语言水平。 1 2 3 4 5
8 在外语教学中， 教师的作用就是向学生传授尽可能多的语言知识。 1 2 3 4 5
9 语言的流利比准确更重要。 1 2 3 4 5
10 语言的准确是传达信息的基本要求。 1 2 3 4 5
11 中国学生在严肃的课堂气氛中比在非严肃气氛中学到更多的知识. 1 2 3 4 5
12 中国学生在以教师授课为主的课堂里学到的知识比在以小组活动为主的课堂里学到的知识多。 1 2 3 4 5
13 在语言教学中，学生的积极参与能使学生学到比在以教师授课为主的课堂里学到的知识多。 1 2 3 4 5
14 语言的学习是一种知识的学习。 1 2 3 4 5
15 语言学习就是语言知识的积累， 以便将来使用。 1 2 3 4 5
16 学习语言成功的关键在于记忆能力的大小。 1 2 3 4 5
17 学习语言的成功与否取决于学习方式与教学方式的融洽程度。 1 2 3 4 5
18 师生教与学的观点不融洽会造成师生之间的误解。 1 2 3 4 5

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

第四部分　教学法

在以下各种教学技巧中，请您根据您的教学情况对每一技巧使用过的频率做出选择。每一句之后都有五个选择，把您认为能代表您使用频率的代号圈上 (只圈 一个 选)。

符号标示

1 = 总是　2 = 经常　3 = 有时　4 = 偶尔　5 = 从不

1	大多数时间用于讲授。	1	2	3	4	5
2	详细讲解课文中的语法规则。	1	2	3	4	5
3	逐字逐句地分析课文	1	2	3	4	5
4	注重使用有声资料和语音室	1	2	3	4	5
5	注重句型操练	1	2	3	4	5
6	听写	1	2	3	4	5
7	让学生背诵课文	1	2	3	4	5
8	鼓励学生大量扩充词汇	1	2	3	4	5
9	创造语言交际的环境	1	2	3	4	5
10	注重词汇应用	1	2	3	4	5
11	注重语篇的分析	1	2	3	4	5
12	强调语言能力的培养	1	2	3	4	5
13	引导学生听英语广播	1	2	3	4	5
14	强调语言结构的学习	1	2	3	4	5
15	详细讲解词语的文化内涵	1	2	3	4	5
16	让同座位同学相互改错	1	2	3	4	5
17	让学生表演角色	1	2	3	4	5
18	让学生作配对练习	1	2	3	4	5
19	组织学生参与小组活动	1	2	3	4	5
20	培养学生的交际能力	1	2	3	4	5
21	鼓励学生积极参与	1	2	3	4	5
22	注重理解	1	2	3	4	5
23	注重语言的运用	1	2	3	4	5
24	强调课堂内语言的摄入量	1	2	3	4	5
25	强调语法的准确性	1	2	3	4	5
26	强调语言的形式和结构	1	2	3	4	5
27	强调语言的内容	1	2	3	4	5
28	强调交际的学习技能	1	2	3	4	5
29	因材施教	1	2	3	4	5
30	组织专题讨论会	1	2	3	4	5

第五部分　外教在中国英语教学中的作用

请您在下面写上您对外教在中国英语教学中的作用的看法：外教的作用是什么？ 对聘请院校来说，使用外教的利弊是什么？ 怎样才能充分发挥外教的作用？(如果本页不够写，请写在该页的背面)

谢谢您利用您的宝贵时间填写此问卷。

一九九七年三月

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHINESE TEACHERS

(English Translation)

Please take some time to fill in this questionnaire as carefully and as completely as you can. No personal identification of your response is necessary.*

Part One Background Information

1. What is your highest academic or professional qualification?

☐ BA	N=28	53.8%
☐ MA	N=24	46.2%

2. What is your professional title?

☐ Professors	N=3	5.8%
☐ Associate Professors	N=10	19.2%
☐ Lecturers	N=29	55.8%
☐ Associate Lecturers	N=10	19.2%

3. What course(s) at undergraduate level are you teaching/have you taught?

4. How long have you taught at the university?

☐ 1-5 years	N=8	15.4%
☐ 6-10 years	N=23	44.2%
☐ 11-15 years	N=17	32.7%
☐ Over 15 years	N=4	7.7%

Part Two Views on the Role of Foreign Teachers

Please indicate your views by circling the number on each of the following statements (circle **ONE** only)

Key to the scale:

1 = strongly agree **2** = agree **3** = not sure **4** = disagree **5** = strongly disagree

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Foreign teachers' participation in English teaching is important in updating English teaching standards in China.	34.6	44.2	15.4	5.8	0
2. Chinese employment of foreign teachers is a failure.	1.9	23.1	13.5	46.2	15.4
3. Foreign teachers play a role in English teaching that Chinese teachers can not fulfil.	17.3	42.3	26.9	13.5	0

---

* Fifty-two Chinese teachers of English responded to the questionnaire.

4. The involvement of foreign teachers in English language teaching in China has little impact upon English language teaching programs in China.	3.8	25.0	7.7	57.7	5.8
5. Success in English teaching in China owes to the efforts of Chinese teachers and students.	13.5	51.9	9.6	23.1	1.9
6. Foreign teachers have little knowledge of how to effectively teach Chinese English learners.	9.6	40.4	23.1	26.9	0
7. There is no point in employing foreign teachers to teach English in China.	1.9	5.8	15.4	50.0	26.9
8. The teaching of some foreign teachers wastes students' time and energy.	13.5	51.9	11.5	23.1	0
9. Differences in foreign teachers' expectations and their Chinese students can cause misunderstandings.	15.4	55.8	13.5	13.5	1.9
10. Foreign teachers' teaching is constrained by Chinese teaching and learning environments.	7.7	53.8	15.4	21.2	1.9
11. Chinese students do not benefit much from foreign teachers' teaching.	9.6	21.2	1.9	51.9	15.4
12. Only through close collaboration with Chinese teachers can the role of foreign teachers be maximally fulfilled.	44.2	42.3	7.7	5.8	0
13. Chinese teachers use teaching techniques better than foreign teachers.	9.6	28.8	21.2	36.5	3.8
14. Foreign teachers' different motivations of teaching English in China result in different outcomes.	40.4	46.2	7.7	3.8	1.9
15. The teaching methods used by foreign teachers do not match the expectations of the Chinese students.	9.6	28.8	25.0	36.5	0
16. It is difficult for foreign teachers to change Chinese students' learning habits.	5.8	57.7	15.4	19.2	1.9
17. If foreign teachers understood some Chinese language. they might know better the learning difficulties of Chinese students.	30.8	30.8	17.3	17.3	3.8
18. Chinese students benefit more from foreign teachers than from Chinese teachers of English.	1.9	9.6	30.8	46.2	11.5
19. The more the Chinese students expect of foreign teachers, the more they are disappointed.	7.7	48.1	23.1	19.2	1.9
20. The presence of unqualified foreign teachers has tarnished the image of foreign teachers in China.	28.8	51.9	7.7	9.6	1.9
21. Foreign teachers' teaching has little impact on the Chinese English education system.	17.3	42.3	11.5	26.9	1.9
22. Teaching without understanding the Chinese learners' needs cannot lead to desired results.	53.8	36.5	1.9	3.8	3.8
23. The presence of foreign teachers in China has changed traditional Chinese English teaching approaches.	3.8	19.2	23.1	48.1	5.8
24. The value of the presence of foreign teachers in China lies in the provision of a learning environment for Chinese students and teachers.	28.8	51.9	7.7	11.5	0
25. Foreign teachers use teaching techniques better than Chinese teachers.	0	3.8	30.8	46.2	19.2

Part Three Views on English Teaching and Learning

Please indicate your views by circling the number on each of the following statements (circle **ONE** only).

Key to the scale:

1 = strongly agree 2 = agree 3 = not sure 4 = disagree 5 = strongly disagree

Section 1 English Teaching Approaches

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Direct transfer of Western English teaching approaches to China is unrealistic.	36.5	46.2	13.5	3.8	3.8
2. Adapting Western English teaching approaches to suit the needs of the Chinese students is essential in teaching English in China.	51.9	38.5	7.7	1.9	0
3. The communicative language teaching approach does not suit the needs of Chinese students.	7.7	19.2	21.2	44.2	7.7
4. In English teaching in China, diverse teaching approaches should be adopted in order to meet the needs of students.	42.3	44.2	1.9	5.8	5.8
5. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches are compatible with Western English teaching approaches.	21.2	61.5	13.5	3.8	0
6. In pedagogy, Chinese teachers are in a better position than foreign teachers to identify learner needs.	28.8	42.3	17.3	7.7	3.8
7. In pedagogy, Chinese teachers should learn from foreign teachers.	7.7	30.8	34.6	26.9	0
8. Traditional Chinese English teaching techniques suit the needs of Chinese students.	1.9	21.2	17.3	53.8	5.8
9. Western English teaching techniques suit the needs of Chinese students.	1.9	7.7	42.3	46.2	1.9
10. The communicative language teaching approach does not fit Chinese educational contexts.	0	11.5	19.2	61.5	7.7
11. Chinese teaching and learning contexts prevent foreign teachers from implementing Western teaching techniques.	15.4	65.4	7.7	7.7	3.8
12. The teaching principles derived from the Chinese cultural contexts match the needs of Chinese students.	9.6	53.8	17.3	19.2	0
13. There is no point in changing current Chinese English teaching approaches.	0	3.8	23.1	61.5	11.5
14. The lecture-dominated approach is more acceptable to Chinese students than the student-centred approach in teaching English in China.	1.9	50.0	11.5	30.8	5.8

15. The integration of traditional Chinese English teaching approaches with Western teaching techniques is essential in English teaching in China.	40.4	53.8	1.9	1.9	1.9
16. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches stifle a student's creative potential.	15.4	53.8	17.3	13.5	0
17. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches emphasise conformity rather than individuality.	15.4	63.5	9.6	9.6	1.9
18. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches emphasise book knowledge more than the use of the language.	21.2	51.9	3.8	19.2	3.8
19. Traditional Chinese English teaching approaches emphasise language forms rather than content.	34.6	48.1	9.6	7.7	0
20. One can not learn a language well without learning its literary texts.	23.1	30.8	30.8	11.5	3.8

Section 2 Views on Chinese Recruiting System

1. Chinese recruiting practices have caused an inflow of unqualified foreign teachers.	40.4	46.2	9.6	3.8	0
2. The main purpose of employing foreign teachers is to provide language learning contexts for students.	17.3	53.8	11.5	17.3	0
3. For Chinese host institutions, the purpose of employing foreign teachers is to fill the gap of teacher shortage.	7.7	11.5	11.5	55.8	13.5

Section 3 Views on the Use of Textbooks

1. For Chinese students, textbooks are essential for learning English.	40.4	53.8	1.9	3.8	0
2. For Chinese students, textbooks are the embodiment of knowledge.	19.2	53.8	15.4	11.5	0
3. Teaching means imparting knowledge embedded in textbooks.	5.8	32.7	13.5	38.5	9.6
4. Learning means absorption and consolidation of the knowledge acquired from textbooks.	3.8	32.7	9.6	50.0	3.8
5. The use of the state-approved textbooks in China prevents teachers' innovations in teaching.	7.7	38.5	19.2	30.8	3.8
6. For Chinese students, teaching means the skilful explication of the prescribed text.	3.8	53.8	11.5	28.8	1.9
7. Chinese approaches to learning are text-oriented.	21.2	71.2	3.8	3.8	0

Section 4 Views on Intensive Reading Courses

1. Intensive Reading courses in China are the most effective ways to English learning.	26.9	32.7	21.2	19.2	0
2. Intensive Reading courses in the English program in China are important in developing students' linguistic and analytical abilities.	28.8	65.4	3.8	1.9	0
3. Intensive Reading courses in China shape the teaching modes of other English courses for Chinese teachers.	3.8	25.0	17.3	50.0	3.8
4. Intensive Reading courses in China ignore a student's language communicative competence.	1.9	21.2	15.4	51.9	9.6
5. Intensive Reading courses ignore the quantity of input.	1.9	40.4	13.5	42.3	1.9

Section 5 Views on Examinations

1. The Chinese examination system has a great impact on English teaching standards in China.	67.3	32.7	0	0	0
2. The Chinese examination system dictates English teaching patterns for Chinese teachers.	40.4	53.8	5.8	0	0
3. The Chinese examination system emphasises language forms rather than language communicative competence.	46.2	40.4	9.6	3.8	0
4. The Chinese examination system prevents teachers from adopting new techniques.	25.0	61.5	1.9	9.6	1.9
5. The Chinese examination system should be updated to facilitate language teaching and learning.	55.8	40.4	1.9	0	1.9

Section 6 Beliefs

1. A teacher's authority lies in his/her command of the knowledge of the subject(s) he/she is teaching.	26.9	50.0	5.8	17.3	0
2. A teacher without authority can not gain a student's respect.	36.5	59.6	1.9	1.9	0
3. A teacher should be a model for students in learning.	26.9	55.8	9.6	5.8	1.9
4. It is difficult to change one's beliefs about teaching and learning once they are formed.	3.8	51.9	17.3	21.2	5.8
5. A student's creativity in the use of a language lies in internalising the system of rules of the language.	3.8	32.7	13.5	50.0	0
6. The more linguistic knowledge is stored in memory, the better the learner will be in the use of the language.	1.9	26.9	9.6	55.8	5.8
7. The size of a learner's vocabulary determines his/her language competence.	3.8	53.8	11.5	28.8	1.9
8. In foreign language teaching, a teacher's task is to impart as much linguistic knowledge as possible.	1.9	36.5	7.7	51.9	1.9
9. Fluency is more important than accuracy.	3.8	32.7	11.5	50.0	1.9
10. Accuracy is the most important means of conveying a message.	13.5	59.6	15.4	11.5	0

11. Chinese students can achieve more success in a formal classroom atmosphere than in an informal one.	1.9	23.1	23.1	42.3	9.6
12. Chinese students can achieve more success from well-structured lectures than from participating in group activities.	5.8	48.1	21.2	21.2	3.8
13. In language teaching, students' active participation enables students to learn more than teacher-dominated lectures.	26.9	57.7	9.6	5.8	0
14. Language learning is also knowledge acquisition.	5.8	34.6	7.7	42.3	9.6
15. Language learning is the storing of the linguistic codes which will be retrieved later when use is required.	0	40.4	11.5	44.2	3.8
16. Success in language learning depends on the ability to memorise new material.	1.9	32.7	15.4	44.2	5.8
17. How well one learns a language depends on the match between the style of teaching and the style of learning.	13.5	71.2	7.7	7.7	0
18. Mismatches of views on learning and teaching can cause teacher-student misunderstandings.	7.7	73.1	7.7	9.6	1.9

Part Four Use of Teaching Techniques

Please identify the frequencies of the following teaching techniques that you have used in your English teaching (circle **ONE only**).

Key to the Scale:

1 = Always **2** = Very Often **3** = Sometimes **4** = Rarely **5** = Never

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Lecturing most of the time	5.8	63.5	19.2	7.7	3.8
2. Explaining in detail grammatical rules in reading texts	1.9	30.8	50.0	11.5	5.8
3. Analysing the reading text sentence by sentence	1.9	30.8	36.5	19.2	11.5
4. Emphasising the use of tapes and language labs	5.8	28.8	36.5	21.2	7.7
5. Emphasising practising on pattern drills	7.7	36.5	30.8	25.0	0
6. Doing dictation	15.4	44.2	26.9	13.5	0
7. Asking students to recite the text being learned	9.6	17.3	19.2	42.3	11.5
8. Encouraging students to enlarge their vocabulary	50.0	38.5	7.7	3.8	0
9. Creating communicative situations	25.0	59.6	13.5	1.9	0
10. Emphasising the use of vocabulary	25.0	69.2	3.8	1.9	0
11. Focusing on discourse analysis	30.8	48.1	15.4	3.8	1.9
12. Fostering students' language competence	34.6	50.0	11.5	1.9	1.9
13. Guiding students to listen to English radio	19.2	42.3	25.0	9.6	3.8
14. Focusing on linguistic structures	9.6	42.3	40.4	5.8	1.9
15. Explaining the cultural context of vocabulary	13.5	30.8	44.2	7.7	3.8
16. Peer correction	1.9	21.2	34.6	28.8	13.5
17. Role play	7.7	23.1	36.5	19.2	13.5
18. Pair work	5.8	34.6	36.5	15.4	7.7
19. Organising students in group activities	11.5	30.8	34.6	13.5	9.6

20. Developing students' communicative competence	26.9	40.4	30.8	1.9	0
21. Emphasising students' active participation	50.0	46.2	1.9	1.9	0
22. Focusing on comprehension	36.5	51.9	9.6	1.9	0
23. Focusing on the use of the language	21.2	63.5	15.4	0	0
24. Emphasising the language input in class	25.0	50.0	23.1	1.9	0
25. Focusing on grammatical accuracy	15.4	44.2	28.8	11.5	0
26. Focusing on the form of the language	9.6	44.2	36.5	9.6	0
27. Focusing on the content of the language	17.3	51.9	21.2	9.6	0
28. Focusing on interactive learning skill-building	13.5	67.3	15.4	3.8	0
29. Focusing on individuality of students	28.8	59.6	11.5	0	0
30. Organising seminars	1.9	15.4	36.5	23.1	23.1

Part Five Views on the Role of Foreign Teachers' Participation in English Teaching in China

Please write your views on the role of foreign teachers' teaching English in China: What role have foreign teachers played? What advantages and drawbacks (on the part of the host institutions) are there in employing foreign teachers? What should China do to maximise or improve the use of foreign teachers? (write on the back of this page if you do not have sufficient space here).

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. All responses will remain confidential.

Mingsheng Li　　20 March, 1997

Cross-Tabulation of the Data from the Questionnaire for Chinese Students

Part Two Views on Teaching and Learning

Section A Students' Perceptions of Foreign Teachers' Teaching

Key to the scale:

1= strongly agree **2** = agree **3** = not sure **4** = disagree **5** = strongly disagree

1 I prefer Chinese teachers' lessons to foreign teachers' lessons.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	0	30.8[*]	15.4	50.0	3.8
Year Two	13.6	27.2	29.6	28.4	1.2
Year Three	7.3	24.0	19.8	45.8	3.1
Year Four	21.0	58.1	8.1	11.3	1.6

2 I can improve my listening by attending foreign teachers' lessons.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	34.6	59.6	3.8	1.9	0
Year Two	35.8	50.6	7.4	6.2	0
Year Three	28.1	52.1	14.6	4.2	1.0
Year Four	24.2	62.9	8.1	4.8	0

3 Foreign teachers use teaching techniques better than Chinese teachers.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	13.5	30.8	23.1	30.8	1.9
Year Two	14.8	22.2	25.9	30.9	6.2
Year Three	7.3	19.8	29.2	40.6	3.1
Year Four	1.6	1.6	33.9	50.0	12.9

---

[*] Percentage within the year

4 Foreign teachers do not know our difficulties in learning English.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	9.6	23.1	26.9	36.5	3.8
Year Two	16.0	44.4	18.5	19.8	1.2
Year Three	11.5	37.5	29.2	20.8	1.0
Year Four	24.2	54.8	8.1	11.3	1.6

5 Foreign teachers' English teaching is disappointing.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	1.9	0	3.8	61.5	32.7
Year Two	8.6	17.3	18.5	45.7	9.9
Year Three	11.5	24.0	19.8	33.3	11.3
Year Four	14.5	41.9	19.4	21.0	3.2

6 Foreign teachers' classes waste our time and energy.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	0	1.9	0	46.2	51.9
Year Two	7.4	13.6	17.3	39.5	22.2
Year Three	8.3	13.5	17.7	43.8	16.7
Year Four	8.1	27.4	17.7	37.1	9.7

7 I cannot learn much in foreign teachers' classes.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	1.9	3.8	3.8	51.9	36.5
Year Two	3.7	17.3	9.9	48.1	21.0
Year Three	10.4	17.7	14.6	42.7	14.6
Year Four	8.1	38.7	14.5	32.3	6.5

8. If foreign teachers had known some Chinese language, they would have been in a better position to understand our learning needs.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	17.3	69.2	0	11.5	1.9
Year Two	29.6	43.2	11.1	11.1	4.9
Year Three	16.7	57.3	8.3	15.6	2.1
Year Four	14.5	43.5	24.2	16.1	1.6

9 The more we expect from foreign teachers, the more we feel disappointed.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	1.9	13.5	17.3	57.7	9.6
Year Two	17.3	22.2	19.8	38.3	2.5
Year Three	8.3	32.3	30.2	27.1	2.1
Year Four	14.5	48.4	19.4	17.7	0

10 It is unrealistic to expect to learn much from foreign teachers.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	0	13.5	11.5	53.8	21.2
Year Two	7.4	33.3	13.6	40.7	4.9
Year Three	6.3	20.8	26.0	44.8	2.1
Year Four	21.0	53.2	6.5	19.4	0

11 Most Foreign teachers' teaching is unsystematic.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	5.8	21.2	28.8	40.4	3.8
Year Two	16.0	27.2	18.5	32.1	6.2
Year Three	8.3	35.4	17.7	37.5	1.0
Year Four	29.0	50.0	16.1	3.2	1.6

12 Foreign teachers' teaching cannot lead to high proficiency.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	1.9	21.2	23.1	50.0	3.8
Year Two	6.2	28.4	13.6	46.9	4.9
Year Three	7.3	27.8	26.4	35.4	3.1
Year Four	8.1	53.2	22.6	12.9	3.2

13 Foreign teachers' teaching is good for oral communication only.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	3.8	23.1	13.5	46.2	13.5
Year Two	4.9	21.0	12.3	56.8	4.9
Year Three	5.2	24.0	19.8	45.8	5.2
Year Four	9.7	53.2	14.5	21.0	1.6

14 Chinese teachers can better understand the needs of Chinese students than foreign teachers.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	21.2	42.3	19.2	15.4	1.9
Year Two	34.6	32.1	11.1	18.5	3.7
Year Three	24.0	52.1	9.4	14.6	0
Year Four	43.5	46.8	6.5	3.2	0

15 Traditional Chinese teaching techniques suit me well.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	5.8	23.1	11.5	44.2	15.4
Year Two	7.4	16.0	32.1	35.8	8.6
Year Three	5.2	24.0	21.9	39.6	8.3
Year Four	21.0	41.9	14.5	22.6	0

16 I can learn more in Chinese teachers' classes than in foreign teachers' classes.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	9.6	38.5	23.1	28.8	0
Year Two	14.8	43.2	17.3	23.5	1.2
Year Three	11.5	52.1	15.6	19.8	1.0
Year Four	37.1	54.8	1.6	4.8	1.6

17 Few foreign teachers have lived up to our expectations.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	1.9	36.5	21.2	40.4	0
Year Two	12.3	46.9	22.2	18.5	0
Year Three	12.5	43.8	26.0	13.5	4.2
Year Four	29.0	53.2	6.5	8.1	1.6

APPENDIX SIX CROSS TABULATION OF THE DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHINESE STUDENTS

18 I often feel anxious in foreign teachers' classes.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	7.7	17.3	5.8	50.0	19.2
Year Two	9.9	28.4	9.9	43.2	8.6
Year Three	5.2	16.7	9.4	47.9	20.8
Year Four	6.5	17.7	27.4	40.3	8.1

19 I'd rather like to talk in English with foreign teachers than with my classmates.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	1.9	17.3	15.4	48.1	17.3
Year Two	6.2	19.8	17.3	43.2	13.6
Year Three	10.4	33.3	12.5	38.5	5.2
Year Four	3.2	35.5	33.9	27.4	0

20 Some foreign teachers' classroom behaviours do not match Chinese cultural norms.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	3.8	19.2	5.8	51.9	19.2
Year Two	7.4	25.9	7.4	43.2	16.0
Year Three	15.6	18.8	18.8	40.6	6.3
Year Four	4.8	30.6	38.7	22.6	3.2

21 Foreign teachers' teaching techniques dot not suit our needs.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	3.8	9.6	23.1	55.8	7.7
Year Two	3.7	33.3	21.0	34.6	7.4
Year Three	7.3	17.7	35.4	36.5	3.1
Year Four	22.6	48.4	14.5	12.9	1.6

22 The much time and effort we spend with foreign teachers is not matched by the gains.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	0	21.2	9.6	57.7	11.5
Year Two	14.8	34.6	11.1	34.6	4.9
Year Three	12.5	20.8	20.8	40.6	5.2
Year Four	25.8	35.5	21.0	17.7	0

APPENDIX SIX CROSS TABULATION OF THE DATA FROM QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHINESE STUDENTS

23 Foreign teachers' classes, though interesting, cannot provide us with much knowledge.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	7.7	44.2	9.6	32.7	5.8
Year Two	11.1	45.7	8.6	30.9	3.7
Year Three	12.5	39.6	17.7	30.2	0
Year Four	32.3	43.5	14.5	9.7	0

24 Some foreign teachers lack respect for Chinese students.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	0	1.9	13.5	46.2	38.5
Year Two	2.5	28.4	12.3	37.0	19.8
Year Three	3.1	18.8	22.9	41.7	13.5
Year Four	4.8	24.2	38.7	27.4	4.8

25 Some foreign teachers lack basic knowledge for teaching.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	0	7.7	19.2	50.0	23.1
Year Two	3.7	23.5	17.3	39.5	16.0
Year Three	8.3	29.2	22.9	32.3	7.3
Year Four	0	46.8	35.5	17.7	0

26. Except for the provision of a foreign language learning environment, I cannot see any worth in employing foreign teachers.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	0	7.7	17.3	50.0	25.0
Year Two	4.9	24.7	11.1	40.7	18.5
Year Three	11.5	21.9	16.7	43.8	6.3
Year Four	8.1	53.2	17.7	17.7	3.2

27 The presence of foreign teachers symbolises the standards of a tertiary institution.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	5.8	25.0	15.4	30.8	23.1
Year Two	13.6	34.6	9.9	24.7	17.3
Year Three	15.6	19.8	22.9	32.3	9.4
Year Four	4.8	40.3	32.3	19.4	3.2

28 To the host institution. the presence of foreign teachers is but a window-dressing.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	1.9	1.9	5.8	36.5	53.8
Year Two	6.2	12.3	8.6	43.2	29.6
Year Three	6.3	10.4	14.6	51.0	17.7
Year Four	8.1	48.4	12.9	27.4	3.2

29 Foreign teachers play an important role in updating English teaching in China.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	19.2	46.2	17.3	13.5	3.8
Year Two	3.7	29.6	30.9	30.9	4.9
Year Three	12.5	42.7	24.0	18.8	2.1
Year Four	3.2	27.4	22.6	41.9	4.8

30 Chinese teachers should learn from foreign teachers.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year One	23.1	48.1	17.3	9.6	1.9
Year Two	11.1	39.5	29.6	18.5	1.2
Year Three	14.6	36.5	32.3	12.5	4.2
Year Four	4.8	27.4	32.3	29.0	6.5

Themes for Interviews

Questions for the Administrators

1. What is the **purpose** of employing foreign teachers to teach at your college/university?
2. How do you perceive the teaching **outcomes** of foreign teachers to English education at your department/university? What are the **advantages** and **disadvantages** to the host institution in employing foreign teachers? What are the main **problems** for the institution in employing foreign teachers? What have you done to resolve these problems?
3. What do you expect foreign teachers to accomplish at your college/university? Have your **expectations** been fulfilled? Why or why not?
4. What advice do you have for **maximising** the use of foreign teachers?

Questions for Chinese Teachers of English

1. What do you perceive as the major **role** of foreign teachers teaching English at your university?
2. Could you cite some examples from your experience with foreign teachers about the **influence** of foreign teachers, positive or negative, on you or on your classmates when your were a student?
3. What were your **expectations** of foreign teachers? Were these expectations fulfilled?
4. Do you think you **benefited** much or little from foreign teachers' teaching? Why?
5. From your point of view, what are the **advantages** and **disadvantage** of employing foreign teachers to teach the language in China? In you view, how to make the best use of these advantages and minimise the disadvantages?

6. From your experience, what were/are the major **problems** facing foreign teachers teaching in China? In you view, what should be done to resolve these problems?
7. What **advice** do you have for maximising the use of foreign teachers?

Questions for Chinese English Majors

1. How have foreign teachers **influenced** your learning? Have you **benefited** from foreign teachers' teachers? Why or why not?
2. Could you cite some examples to explain why you **like** or **dislike** foreign teachers' teaching? How do such experiences influence your learning?
3. How does foreign teachers' teaching **differ** from that of the Chinese teachers? How have the differences contributed to your learning outcomes?
4. What are your **expectations** of foreign teachers in the language teaching? Have these expectations been fulfilled? Why or why not?
5. In your opinion, what are the **advantages** and **disadvantages** of foreign teachers' teaching?
6. From your experience, what are the major **problems** that you think have negatively influenced your learning?
7. What is your advice for **maximising** the use of foreign teachers' expertise?

Questions for Foreign Teachers

1. Could you tell me if you have a particular **purpose** of coming to teach in China?
2. How do you perceive your **role** as a foreign expert/teacher?
3. What are the **major difficulties** you have in your teaching at this university and how have you overcome them?
4. Could you **compare** Chinese students with the students in your country? What are the major **differences** in their learning strategies and classroom behaviours?

How do these differences affect teaching and learning? What have you done to bridge these gaps?

5. How do you describe your **relationship** with the students/staff at the university?
6. Are you able to fully **utilise** your expertise at the university? Why or why not? What is your advice for the university to **maximise** foreign teachers' expertise?

STATEMENT

This is to certify that I have carefully checked all the transcriptions of the audio-tape recordings, in Chinese, of the Chinese administrators, teachers, and students, and that Mr. Mingsheng Li's transcriptions are faithful to the original.

Xuexin Han (Mr)

Director
Foreign Affairs Office
Yunnan Education Commission
Yunnan Province
People's Republic of China

Date 5 / 10 / 1997

Phone No: 86-871-5144238

Bibliography

Abbott, G. (1992). Development, education, and English language teaching. *ELT Journal, 46* (2), 172-179.

Adamson, B. (1995). The "Four Modernisations" program in China and English language teacher education: a case study. *Compare, 25* (3), 197-210.

Agar, M. (1980). *The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography.* New York: Academic Press.

Ahmed, M., Cheng, K. M., & Jalaluddin, A. K. (1991). *Basic education and national development: Lessons from China and India.* New York, NY: UNICEF.

Ainscough, V. (1997). Reflection in action: Increasing teacher awareness of the learning needs of specific socio-cultural groups. *System, 25* (4), 571-579.

Aitchison, J. (1993). Birds, bees, and switches: psycholinguistic issues 1967-2017. *ELT Journal, 47* (2), 107-116.

Allwright, D. (1996). Social and pedagogic pressures in the language classroom: The role of socialisation. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 209-228). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Allwright, R. L. (1988). *Observation in the language classroom.* London: Longman.

Alptekin, C. (1988). Chinese formal schemata in ESL composition. *The British Journal of Language Teaching, 26* (2), 112-116.

Althen, G. (1984). *American Ways: A guide for foreigners in the United States.* Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.

Anderson, L. E. (1994). A new look at an old construct: Cross-cultural adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 18* (3), 293-328.

Arnett, R. C. (1986). *Communication and community.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Auerbach, E. R. (1991). Politics, pedagogy, and professionalism: Challenging marginalisation in ESL. *College ESL, 1* (1), 1-9.

Austin, T. (1998). Cross-cultural pragmatics -- Building in analysis of communication across cultures and languages: Examples from Japanese. *Foreign Language Annals, 31* (3), 326-346.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Babbie, E. R. (1973). *Survey research methods*. Belmont, California: Wasdworth Publishing Company, Inc.

Bahns, J. (1993). Lexical collocations: A contrastive view. *ELT Journal, 47* (1), 56-63.

Bailey, K. M., & Nunan, D. (Eds.) (1996). *Voices from the language classroom: Qualitative research in second language education*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Banton, M. (1965). *Roles: A introduction to the study of social relations*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Barnes, J. (1990). A joint venture in Guangzhou. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. 182-192). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Barrow, R. (1990). Culture, values and the language classroom. In B. Harrison (Ed.), *Culture and language classroom* (pp. 3-10). Hong Kong: Modern English publications and the British Council.

Bartelt, G. (1997). The ethnography of second language production. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, 35* (1), 23-35.

Bastid, M. (1987). Servitude or liberation? The introduction of foreign educational practices and systems to China from 1840 to the present. In R. Hayhoe & M. Bastid (Eds.), *China's Education and the industrialised world: Studies in cultural transfer* (pp. 3-20). New York. London: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Bateson, G. (1979). *Mind and nature*. New York: Dutton.

Beckhard, R., & Harris, R. (1987). *Organisational transitions: Managing complex change*. Sydney: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Bell, J. (1987). *Doing your research project: A guide for first-time researcher in education and social science*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Berstein, B. (1996). *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity: Theory, research, critique*. Bristol, PA: Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Berstein, B., & Solomon, J. (1999). Pedagogy, identity and the construction of a theory of symbolic control: Basil Berstein questioned by Joseph Solomon. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 20 (2), 265-279.

Bernstein, R., & Munro, R. H. (1997). *The coming conflict with China*. New York: Alfred A. Knopt, Inc.

Bi, X. (1994). Chinese perfume [in Chinese]. In Y. Bo (Ed.), *Zhongguoren, ni shou le shenme zhuyou* (pp. 67-73). Taipei: Xingguang Chubanshe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bialystok, E. (1985). The compatibility of teaching and learning strategies. *Applied Linguistics, 6,* 255-262.

Biggs, J. (1996). Western misconceptions of the Confucian-heritage learning culture. In D. Watkins & J. Biggs (Eds.), *The Chinese learner: cultural, psychological and contextual influences* (pp. 45-68). Camberwell, Melbourne: The Australian Council for Education Research.

Bignell, V., & Fortune, J. (1984). *Understanding system failures.* Manchester: The Open University.

Blatchford, C. H. (1983) Teaching English in China: EFL teacher training. *Asian Study, 23* (11), 1199-1203.

Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. K. (1982). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Bolitho, R. (1988). Language awareness on teacher training courses. In T. Duff (Ed.), *Explorations in teacher training: Problems and issues* (pp. 72-84). Essex: Longman.

Bond, M. H., & Hwang, K. K. (1986). The social psychology of Chinese people. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The psychology of Chinese people* (pp. 213-266). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Booz, E. (1983). Teaching in Kunming: getting over the hump. *Asian Study, 23* (11), 1203-1208.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (Richard Nice, trans.). London: Sage Publications.

Breen, M. (1985). The social context for language learning -- A neglected situation? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 7* (1), 135-158.

Brennan, M., & Miao, C. A. (1982). Conflicting expectations and compromise in the Chinese classroom. *Language Learning and Communication, 1* (2), 197-201.

Brick, J. (1991). *China: A handbook in intercultural communication.* Sydney: National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research, Macquarie University.

Brislin, R. W. (1993). *Understanding culture's influence on behaviour.* New York: Harcourt Brace College.

Brophy, J., & Good, T. (1986). Teacher behaviour and student achievement. In M. C. Wittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching,* (3rd ed.) (pp. 328-375). New York: Macmillan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, H. D. (1986). Learning a second culture. In J. M. Valdes (Ed.), *Culture bound: Bridging the cultural gap in language teaching* (pp. 33-48). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, H. D. (1987). *Principles of language learning and teaching* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Budd, R., & Wright, T. (1992). Putting a process syllabus into practice. In D. Nunan (Ed.), *Collaborative language learning and teaching* (pp. 208-229). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bullough, R. V., Gitlin, A. D., & Goldstein, S. L. (1986). Ideology, teacher role, and resistance. In W. J. Smyth (Ed.), *Reflection-in-action* (pp. 93-112). Victoria: Deakin University.

Burnaby, B., & Sun, Y. L. (1989). Chinese teachers' views of Western language teaching: Context informs paradigms. *TESOL Quarterly, 23* (2), 219-238.

Burns, C. (1989). Individual interviews. In S. Robson & A. Foster (Eds.), *Qualitative research in action* (pp. 47-57). London and Melbourne: Edward Arnold.]

Burns, R. B. (1994). *Introduction to research methods.* Melbourne: Longman.

Burroughs, G. E. R. (1975). *Design and analysis in educational research* (2nd edition). Oxford: The Alden Press.

Byron, S., & Macmillan, M. (1990). The role of language teachers in distance education. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. 193-201). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Cabello, B., & Burstein, N. D. (1995). Examining teachers' beliefs about teaching in culturally diverse classrooms. *Journal of Teacher Education, 46* (4), 285-294.

Caiger, J., Davies, B., Leigh, B., Orton, J., & Rice, A. (1996). Education. In A. Milner & M. Quilty (Eds.), *Australia in Asia: Comparing cultures* (pp. 69-103). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Canale, M., & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1* (1), 1-47.

Candlin, C. N. (1984). Syllabus design as a critical process. In C. J. Brumfit (Ed.), *General English syllabus design* (pp. 29-46). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Cao, X. N. (1991). Policy-making on the improvement of university personnel in China under the national reform environment. *Studies in Education, 16* (2), 103-115.

Carnoy, M. (1998). Globalisation and educational restructuring. *Melbourne Studies in Education, 30* (2), 21-40.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carter, R., & Long, M. N. (1991). *Teaching literature*. New York: Longman.

Cazden, C. (1990). Recent publications in classroom research. *TESOL Quarterly, 24*, 717-724.

Celce-Murcia, M. (1985). Making informed decisions about the role of grammar in language teaching. *TESOL Newsletter 19* (1), 4-5.

Celce-Murcia, M. (1997). Direct approaches in L2 instruction: A turning point in communicative language teaching? *TESOL Quarterly, 31* (1), 141-152.

Chang, B. G. (1996). *Deconstructing communication: Representation, subject, and economies of exchange*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Chang, H. C., Holt, G. R. (1994). A Chinese perspective on face as inter-relational concern. In S. Ting-Toomey (Ed.), *The challenge of facework: Cross-cultural and interpersonal issues* (pp. 95-132). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second language classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chen, H. C. (1996). Chinese reading and comprehension: A cognitive psychology perspective. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 43-62). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chen, K. R., Leng, N. (1990). On mutual cooperation between Chinese and foreign teachers. *ELT Newsletter: Teaching English in China,, 20*, 63-64.

Chen, S. (1990). *Culture in foreign language education: A proposition for EFL in China*. An unpublished doctoral thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Chen, Z. L. (1998a). Zhishi jingji he rencai peiyang [Intellectual economy and development]. *China's Scholars Abroad, 8*, 3-4.

Chen, Z. L. (1998b). Shenke biange zhong de gaodeng jiaoyu [Chinese higher education in profound changes]. *China's Scholars Abroad, 11*, 3-6.

Chen, Z. L. (1998c). Ershiyi shiju Zhongguo jiaoju shiye de quanmian zhenxing [The all-round revitalisation of Chinese education in the 21st century]. *China's Scholars Abroad, 12*, 3-4.

Clark, A. (1997). The dynamical challenge. *Cognitive Science, 21* (4), 461-481.

Clarke, M. A., & Silberstein, S. (1988). Problems, prescriptions, and paradoxes in second language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 22* (4), 685-700.

Clifford, W. K. (1993). The ethics of belief. In L. Pojman (Ed.), *The theory of knowledge* (pp. 502-505). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Cohen, L., & Manion, L. (1980). *Research methods in education* (2nd edition). London: Croom Helm.

Coleman, H. (1996a). Autonomy and ideology in English language classroom. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 1-15). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Coleman, H. (1996b). Shadow puppets and language lessons: Interpreting classroom behaviour in its cultural context. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 64-85). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Connell, R. W. (1979). The concept of role and what to do with it. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 15* (3), 7-17.

Conrad, C. (1972). *Strategic organisational communication: cultures, situations, and adaptation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

The Consitution of the Chinese Communist Party [Zhongguo Gongchandan Zhangcheng]. (1992). In *Zhongguo Gongchandang di shisici quanguo daibiao dahui wenjian weibian* [*The collected documents of the fourteenth national congress of the Chinese Communist Party*] (pp. 87-120). Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe.

Cook, G. (1994). Repetition and learning by heart: An aspect of intimate discourse, and its implications. *ELT Journal, 48* (2), 133-141.

Cook, G., & Seidlhofer, B. (1996). An applied linguist in principle and practice. In G. Cook & B. Seidlhofer (Eds.), *Principle & practice in applied linguistics* (pp. 1-25). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cortazzi, M. (1990). Cultural and educational expectations in the language classroom. In B. Harrison (Ed.), *Culture and the language classroom* (pp. 54-65). Hong Kong: Modern English Publications and the British Council.

Cortazzi, M., & Jin, L. X. (1996a). Cultures of learning: Language classrooms in China. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 169-206). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Cortazzi, M., & Jin, L. X. (1996b). English teaching and learning in China. *Language Teaching, 29* (2), 61-80.

Craig, B. A. (1995). Boundary discourse and the authority of knowledge in the second-language classroom: A social-constructionist approach. In J. E. Alatis et al., (Eds.), *Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics, 1995* (pp. 40-54). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Crook, D. (1990). Some problems of Chinese education s seen through the eyes of a foreigner. In Z. L. Wang (Ed.), *ELT in China: Papers presented at the international symposium on teaching English in the Chinese context (ISTEC), Guangzhou, China, 1985* (pp. 29-38). Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Cumming, A. (1987). Evaluations and developments of foreign language teaching in China. *Canadian and International Education* (Special edition), *16* (1), 211-220.

Damen, L.(1986). *Cultural learning: The fifth dimension in the language classroom.* Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Davis, K. A. (1995). Qualitative theory and methods in applied linguistics research. *TESOL Quarterly, 29* (3), 427-453.

Deng, X. P. (1987). *Fundamental issues in present China.* Beijing: Foreign Language Press.

Deng, X. P. (1993). Zai Wucang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shanghai deng di de tanhua yaodian (The main points of speech in Wucan, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shanghai). *Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan (The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping).* Vol. 3. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe (People's Publishing Press), 370-383.

Diamond, N. (1983). Teaching American literature in Shangdong. *Asian Study, 23* (11), 1194-1199.

Diesing, P. (1971). *Patterns of discovery in the social sciences.* New York: Aldine.

Duff, T. (1988). The preparation and development of teacher trainers. In T. Duff (Ed.), *Explorations in teacher training: Problems and issues* (pp. 110-117). Essex: Longman.

Dzau, Y. F. (1990a). Introduction. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. 1-10). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Dzau, Y. F. (1990b). How English is taught in tertiary educational institutions. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. 41-58). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Eccles, J., & Wigfield, A. (1985). Teacher expectations and student motivation. In J. B. Dusek (Ed.), *Teacher expectancies* (pp. 185-226). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Edge, J. (1988). Applying linguistics in English language teacher training for speakers of other languages. *ELT Journal, 42* (1), 9-13.

Edge, J. (1996). Cross-cultural paradoxes in a profession of values. *TESOL Quarterly, 30* (1), 9-30.

Ehrman, M. (1998). The learning alliance: Conscious and unconscious aspects of the second language teacher's role. *System, 26* (1), 93-106).

Eisner, E. W., & Peshkin, A. (Eds.) (1990). *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate*. New York: Teachers' College Press.

Elio, R., & Pelletier, F. J. (1997). Belief change as propositional update. *Cognitive Science, 21* (4), 419-460.

Ellis, N. (1995). Consciousness in second language acquisition: A review of field studies and laboratory experiments. *Language Awareness, 4* (3), 123-146.

Ellis, R. (1984). *Classroom second language development: A study of classroom interaction and language acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Ellis, R. (1991). *Second language acquisition and language pedagogy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ellsworth, E. (1997). *Teaching positions: Difference, pedagogy, and the power of address*. New York: Teachers College Pres.

Entwistle, N. J., & Entwistle, A. (1991). Contrasting forms of understanding for degree examinations: The student experience and its implications. *Higher Education, 22*, 205-227.

Esland, G. M. (1971). Teaching and learning as the organisation of knowledge. In M. F. D. Young (Ed.), *Knowledge and control: New directions for the sociology of education* (pp. 70-115). London: Collier Macmillan.

Everett, R. (1990). A theoretical based evaluation of Intensive Reading. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. 175-181). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Fang, Z. H. (1996). A review of research on teacher beliefs and practices. *Educational Research, 38* (1), 47-65.

Fereshteh, H. M. (1997). A social foundations perspective of the nature of teaching. *Educational Practice and Theory, 19* (2), 69-72.

Field, M. L. (1985). A psycholinguistic model of the Chinese ESL reader. *On TESOL '84*, 171-182.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal, 81* (3), 285-300.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1998). SLA property: No trespassing! *The Modern Language Journal, 81* (1), 91-94.

Fiske, J. (1989). *Understanding popular culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Flowerdew, L. (1998). A cultural perspective on group work. *ELT Journal, 52* (4), 323-329.

Flowerdew, J., & Miller, L. (1995). On the notion of culture in L2 lectures. *TESOL Quarterly, 29* (2), 345-373.

Flynn, M. B. (1982). Breaking the book barrier. In T. V. Higgs (Ed.), *Curriculum, competence, and the foreign language teacher* (pp. 35-56). Skokie, IL: National Textbook Company.

Ford, D. J. (1988). *The twain shall meet: the current study of English in China.* Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers.

Freeman, D. (1989). Teacher training, development, and decision making: A model of teaching and related strategies for language teacher education. *TESOL Quarterly, 23* (1), 27-45.

Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York: Seabury Press.

Fu, J. P. (1998). Zhongxue yuwen jiaoxue ji dai gaihe [Urgency in reforming Chinese teaching]. *Guangming Daily*, 18 February, 1998, p. 6.

Fu, K. (1986). *Zhongguo waiyu jiaoyu shi* [*A history of foreign language education in China*]. Shanghai: Shanghai Waiyu Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

Furnham, A., & Bochner, S. (1986). *Culture shock: Psychological reactions in unfamiliar environments*. London: Methuen.

Gadman, S. (1997). *Power partnering: A strategy for business excellence in the 21st century*. Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Gao, B. Q. (1993). *A comparative study of teacher-student relations in the period of modernisation: China and the West.* Unpublished PhD dissertation, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Gao, G., Ting-Toomey, S., & Gudykunst, W. B. (1996). Chinese communication processes. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 280-293). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gaodeng Xuexiao Yingyu Zhuangye Jichu Jieduan Yingyu Jiaoxue Dagan [*English Curriculum for Tertiary English Majors at Basic Levels*]. (1990). Shanghai: Shanghai Waiyu Jiaoyu Chubanshe [Shanghai Foreign Education Press].

Gaodeng Xuexiao Yingyu Zhuangye Gao Nianji Yingyu Jiaoxue Dagan [The English curriculum for undergraduate senior English language majors] (1989) by the English Curriculum Design Committee. Beijing: English Teaching and Research Press.

Gardner, H. (1989). *To open minds: Chinese clues to the dilemma of contemporary education.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers.

Garrott, J. R. (1992). Preferences and pet peeves of Chinese college students. ED350 856 FL 020 681.

Garrott, J. R. (1995). Chinese cultural values: New angles, added insights. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 19* (2), 211-225.

Garside, C. (1998). Can we Talk?: The role of oral communication in student learning. In J. Tapper & P. Gruba (Eds.), *ACSC '98 Teaching communication skills in the disciplines: The proceedings of the Australian Communication Skills Conference* (pp. 68-77). Melbourne: University of Melbourne, October 1-2, 1998.

Gass, S. M. (1990). Second and foreign language learning: Same, different, or none of the above? In B. VanPatten & J. F.Lee (Eds.), *Second language acquisition -- foreign language learning* (pp. 34-45). Philadelphia: Multicultural Matters.

Gass, S. M., Mackey, A., & Pica, T. (1998). The role of input and interaction in second language acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal, 82* (3), 299-305.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures.* New York: Basic Book.

Gerlach, L., & Hines, V. (1973). *The dynamics of change in America.* Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press

Giroux, H. A. (1992). *Border crossing: Cultural workers and the politics of education.* New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc.

Giroux, H. A., Lánkshear, C., Mclaren, P., & Peters, M. (1996). *Counternarratives: Cultural studies and critical pedagogies in postmodern spaces.* London: Routledge.

Gitlin, A. D. (1990). Educative research, voice, and school change. *Harvard Education Review, 60* (4), 433-466.

Golembiewski, R. T. (1979). *Approaches to planned change, part 1: orienting perspectives and macro-level interventions.* New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc.

Good, T. L., & Brophy, J. E. (1987). *Looking in classrooms* (4th ed.). New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Goulden, R., Nation, P., & Read, J. (1991). How large can a receptive vocabulary be? *Applied Linguistics, 11*, 341-363.

Gow, L., Balla, J., Kember, D., & Hau, K. T. (1996). The learning approaches of Chinese people: A function of socialisation processes and the context of learning? In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 109-123). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gower, R. (1986). Can stylistic analysis help the EFL learner to read literature?" *ELT Journal, 40* (2), 125-130.

Gower, R. (1988). Are trainees human? In T. Duff (Ed.), *Explorations in teacher training: Problems and issues* (pp. 20-25). Essex: Longman.

Grabe, W, & Mahon, D. (1981). Comments on methodology-oriented teacher training programs in China. *TESOL Quarterly, 15* (2), 207-209.

Grabow, S., & Heskin, A. (1973). Foundations for a radical concept of planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 392* (March), 472-483.

Greene, S., & Ackerman, J. (1995). Expanding the constructivist metaphor: A theoretical perspective on literacy research and practice. *Review of Educational Research, 65*, 383-420.

Greiner, L. (1972). Evolution and revolution as organisations grow. *Harvard Business Review, 50*, 39-46

Gudykunst, W. B. (1994). *Bridging differences: Effective intergroup communication* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Gudykunst, W. B., Gao, G., & Franklyn-Stoke, A. (1996). Self-monitoring and concern for social appropriateness in China and England. In J. Pandey, D. Sinha, D. Bhawuk (Eds.), *Asian contributions to cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 255-267). New Dehli: Sage Publications.

Haas, P. F., & Keeley, S. M. (1998). Coping with faculty resistance to teaching critical thinking. *College Teaching, 46* (2), 63-67.

Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture.* New York: Anchor Press.

Hall, J. K. (1997). A consideration of SLA as a theory of practice: A response to Firth and Wagner. *The Modern Language Journal, 81* (3), 301-306.

Hall, T. T. (1986). Unstated features of cultural context of learning. In A. Thomas & E. T. Ploman (Eds.), *Learning and development in a global perspective* (pp. 157-176). Toronto: OISE Press.

Hargreaves, A. (1992). Cultures of teaching: A focus for change. In A. Hargreaves & H Fullan (Eds.), *Understanding teacher development* (pp. 216-240). London: Cassell.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Changing teachers, changing times: teachers' work and culture in the post-modern age.* London: Cassell.

Harrison, B. (1990). Preface. In B. Harrison (Ed.), *Culture and language classroom* (pp. 1-2). Hong Kong: Modern English Publications and British Council.

Harvey, P. (1985). A Lesson to be learned: Chinese approaches to language learning. *ELT Journal, 39* (3), 183-186.

Hayhoe, R. (1986). Penetration or mutuality? China's educational cooperation with Europe, Japan, and North America. *Comparative Education Review, 30* (4), 532-559.

Hayhoe, R. (1991). The tapestry of Chinese higher education. In I. Epstein (Ed.), *Chinese education: Problems, policies, and prospects* (pp. 109-144). London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Henrichsen, L. E. (1997). One size does not fit all: A taxonomic perspective on ESL/EFL teacher-preparation programs. *The Teacher Trainer, 11* (2), *3-8.*

Hinings, C. R., & Greenwood, R. (1988). *The dynamics of strategic change.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Hird, B. (1996). The incompatible objectives of group work in FL learning: A study of Chinese- English code-switching. *Language, Culture and Curriculum, 9* (2), 163-175.

Hitchcock, G., & Hughes, D. (1989). *Research and the teacher. A qualitative introduction to school-based research.* London: Routledge.

Ho, D. Y. F. (1986). Chinese patterns of socialisation: a critical review. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The psychology of the Chinese people* (pp. 1-37). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ho, D. Y. F. (1996) Filial piety and its psychological consequences. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 155-165). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ho, J., & Crookall, D. (1995). Breaking with Chinese cultural traditions: Learner autonomy in English language teaching. *System, 23* (2), 235-243.

Hofstede, G. (1986). Cultural differences in teaching and learning. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 10,* 301-320.

Hofstede, G. (1991). *Cultures and organisations: Software of the mind.* London: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Holliday, A. (1992). Tissue rejection and informal orders in ELT projects: Collecting the right information. *Applied Linguistics, 13* (4), 403-424.

Holliday, A. (1994a). The house of TESEP and the communicative approach: the special needs of state English language education. *ELT Journal, 48* (1), 3-11.

Holliday, A. (1994b). *Appropriate methodology and social context.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Holliday, A. (1996). Large- and small-class cultures in Egyptian university classrooms: A cultural justification for curriculum change. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 86-104). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Holliday, A. (1997). The politics of participation in international English language education. *System, 25* (3), 409-423.

Holly, D. (1990). The unspoken curriculum, or how language teaching carries cultural and ideological messages. In B. Harrison (Ed.), *Culture and the language classroom* (pp. 11-30). London: MEP & the British Council.

Hong, P. Z. (1993). The benefit of studying Chinese/Asian type of education philosophy for Australia's education export. In R. Leach (Ed.), *National strategies for Australasian countries: the impact of the Asian/Pacific economy* (pp. 249-261). Queensland: Queensland University of Technology Production.

Hoosain, R. (1986) Perceptual process of the Chinese. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The psychology of Chinese people* (pp. 38-72). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Horwitz, E. K., Horwitz, M., & Cope, J. (1986). Foreign language classroom anxiety. *Modern Language Journal, 70* (1), 125-132.

Hu, C. D. (1994). *Yingyu jiaoxuefa [English pedagogy].* Beijing: Goadeng jiaoyu chubanshe [Higher Education Press].

Huang, W. (1998). Conceptual changes represent the greatest change. *Beijing Review, 41* (40), 22-23.

Hui, C. H., & Triandis, H. C. (1986). Individualism-collectivism: A study of cross-cultural researchers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Philosophy, 17* (2), 225-248.

The human rights development in China in 1996 [1996 nian Zhongguo renquan shiye de jinzhan]. *Guangming Daily,* 1 April, 1997, p. 1.

Jaworski, A. (1995). Language awareness in applied linguistics students: Evidence from "linguistic- and cultural-heritage essays. In J. E. Alatis et al., (Eds.), *Georgetown University round table on languages and linguistics, 1995* (pp. 213-228). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Jenks, F. L. (1992). Difficult circumstances: Reality or Perception? *TESOL Journal, 2* (1), 5-7.

Ji, X. L. (1996). Gaoxiao ruhe zai xin xingshi xia tiegao waigui zhuanjia de pinyong xiaoyi [How can Chinese universities make the best use of foreign experts in the new era]. *Zhuanjia Gongzuo Tongxun [News on Foreign Experts in China], 10,* 30-32.

Jiang, Z. M. (1997). In *People's Daily* (Overseas edition), 23 December, 1997, p. 1.

Jiang, Z. M. (1999). In *People's Daily* (Overseas edition), 12 January, 1999, p. 1.

Jiang, Z. P. (1999). Pingdeng duihuan, "he er bu tong" [Dialogue, equality, and harmony within differences], *People's Daily* (Overseas edition), 7 January, 1999, p. 7.

Jochnowitz, G. (1986). Teaching at a provincial Chinese university. *American Scholar, 55* (4), 521-527.

Johnson, H. (1992). Defossilising. *ELT Journal, 46* (2), 180-189.

Jouen, E. (1998). The consequences of economic golobalisation for education policies. *Education International, 4* (3), 2-3.

Judd, E. (1987). Language policy, curriculum development and TESOL instruction: A search for compatibility. In M. H. Long & J. C. Richards (eds.), *Methodology in TESOL* (pp. 3-9). Singapore: Harper and Row.

Karavas-Doukas, E. (1996). Using attitude scales to investigate teachers' attitudes to the communicative approach. *ELT Journal, 50* (3), 187-198.

Keeley, S. M., Shemberg, K. M., Cowell, B. S., & Zinnbauer, B. J. (1995). Coping with student resistance to critical thinking: What the psychotherapy literature can tell us. *College Teaching, 43* (4), 140-145.

Kember, D., & Gow, L. (1991). A challenge to the anecdotal stereotype of the Asian student. *Studies in Higher Education, 16* (2), 117-128.

Kern, R. G. (1995). Students and teachers' beliefs about language learning. *Foreign Language Annals, 28* (1), 71-92.

Kindler, H. S. (1979). Two planning strategies: Incremental change and transformational change. *Group and Organisation Studies, 4,* 476-484.

Knight, P. (1998). Professional obsolescence and continuing professional development in higher education. *Innovations in Education and Training International, 35* (3), 248-256.

Kramsch, C. (1994). *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C., & Sullivan, P. (1996). Appropriate pedagogy. *ELT Journal, 50* (3), 199-212.

Krashen, S. D. (1994). The input hypothesis and its rivals. In N. C. Ellis (Ed.), *Implicit and explicit learning of languages* (pp. 45-77). New York: Academic Press.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (1991). Language-learning tasks: teacher intention and learner interpretation. *ELT Journal, 45* (2), 98-107.

Kumaravadirelu, B. (1993). Maximising learning potential in the communicative classroom. *ELT Journal, 47* (1), 12-21.

Lamb, M. (1996). The consequences of INSET. In T. Hedge & N. Whitney (Eds.), *Power, Pedagogy & Practice* (pp. 139-149). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lanolf, J., & Appel, G. (1994). Theoretical framework: An introduction to Vysgoskian perspectives on second language research. In J. Lanolf & G. Appel (Eds.), *Vysgotskian approaches to second language research* (pp. 1-32). Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Larsen-Freeman, D., & Long, M. H. (1991). *An introduction to second language acquisition research*. London: Longman.

Laufer, B., & Nation, P. (1995). Vocabulary size and use: Lexical richness in L2 written production. *Applied Linguistics, 16* (3), 307-322.

Lazaraton, A. (1995). Qualitative research in applied linguistics: A progress report. *TESOL Quarterly, 29* (3), 455-472.

Leong, C. K., & Hsia, S. (1996). Cross-linguistic constraints on Chinese students learning English. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 63-78). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leung, K. (1996). The role of beliefs in Chinese culture. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 247-262). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levy, A., & Merry, U. (1986). *Organisational transformation: Approaches, strategies, theories*. London: Praeger.

Levy, J., Wubbels, T., Brekelmans, M., Morganfield, B. (1997). Language and cultural factors in students' perceptions of teacher communication style. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 21* (1), 29-56.

Lewin, K., Xu, H., Little, A. W., & Zheng, J. W. (1994). *Educational innovation in China: Tracing the impact of the 1985 reforms*. Essex: Longman.

Li, C. L, & Gu, M. L. (1995). *Daxue jiaoxuelilun yu fanfa [College Instructional theories and methods]*. Guiyang: Guizhou Jiaoyu Chubanshe [Guizhou Education Press].

Li, D. W. (1998). Tantan hexie [On compatibility]. *Guangming Ribao [Guangming Daily]*, 3 October, 1998, p. 3.

Li, H. W. (1998). In *People's Daily* (Overseas edition), 6 August, 1998, p. 5.

Li, L. Q. (1995). In *People's Daily* (Overseas edition), *5* October, 1995, p. 2.

Li, L. Q. (1998). In *People's Daily*, Overseas edition, 18 August, 1998, p. 4.

Li, L. Q. (1999). In *People's Daily*, Overseas edition, 5 February, 1999, p. 1.

Li, M. S. (1998a). English literature teaching in China: Flowers and thorns. *The Weaver: A Forum for New Ideas in Education, 2*, <http://www.latrobe.edu.au/www/graded/pMSLed2.html>.

Li, M. S. (1998b). Students' perceptions of teacher communication style in the use of pedagogies: A case study of expatriates teaching English in China. In J. Tapper & P. Gruba (Eds.), *ACSC '98 Teaching communication skills in the disciplines: The proceedings of the Australian Communication Skills Conference* (pp. 94-105). Melbourne: University of Melbourne, October 1-2, 1998.

Li, M. S. (1999). Conflict in teacher-student role beliefs and expectations: A study of expatriate teachers teaching English in China. *The Weaver: A Forum for New Ideas in Education, 3*, <http://www.latrobe.edu.au/www/graded/pMSLed3.html>.

Li, X., & Walker, K. (1997). Autonomy and accountability in higher education: An analysis of Chinese higher education reform. *Canadian and International Education, 26* (2), 9-27.

Li, X. J. (1984). In defence of the communicative approach. *ELT Journal, 38* (1), 2-13.

Liberman, K. (1994). Asian student perspectives on American university instruction. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 18* (2), 193-192.

Light, R., & Works, N. (1984). Training teachers across cultures: Report on a Fulbright Program in China. *World Language English, 3* (4), 269-278.

Lin, J. (1993). *Education in Post-Mao China*. London: Praeger.

Lin, Z. Q. (1995). *Gaodeng jiaoyuxue [Pedagogy of higher education].* Guiyang: Guizhou Jiaoyu Chubanshe [Guizhou Education Press].

Liu, I. M. (1986). Chinese cognition. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The psychology of the Chinese people* (pp. 73-105). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Liu, L. S. (1998). Zhishi chaju daozhi guoli cha ju [The difference in science and technology leads to the difference in the power of the country]. *Economic Daily*, 12 April, 1998, p. 6.

Lofland, J. (1971). *Analysing social settings.* New York: Wadsworth.

Louden, W. (1992). Understanding reflection through collaborative research. In A. Hargreaves & M. G. Fullan (Eds), *Understanding teacher development* (pp. 178-215). New York: Columbia University Teachers' College Press.

Loughran, J. J. (1996). *Developing reflective practice: Learning about teaching and learning through modelling.* London: Falmer Press.

Luke, A. (1996). Series editor's preface. In B. Berstein, *Pedagogy, symbolic control and identity: Theory, research, critique* (pp. xi-xiv). Bristol, PA: Taylor & Francis.

Lutz, R. (1990). Classroom shock: The role of expectations in an instructional setting. J. E. Alatis (Ed.), *Georgetown University Round Table on languages and linguistics, 1990* (pp. 144-156). Washington D. C.: Georgetown University Press.

MacKinnon, S. R. (1983). Teaching at graduate level in Beijing. *Asian Study, 23* (11), 1185-1190.

Macmillan, M. (1990). Foreword. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. ix-x). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Mahoney, R. (1990). *The early arrival of dreams: A year in China.* New York: Fawcett Columbine.

Maley, A. (1984). Teacher training in China: The British contribution. *World Language English, 4* (1), 5-10.

Maley, A. (1985) On chalk and cheese, babies and bathwater and square circles: Can traditional and communicative approaches be reconciled? *Teachers of English to speakers of other languages. Convention on TESOL '84, a brave new world for TESOL*, 159-169.

Maley, A. (1986a). XANADU -- A miracle of rare device: the teaching of English in China. In J. M. Valdes (Ed.), *Culture bound: Bridging the cultural gap in language teaching* (pp. 102-111). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maley, A. (1986b). 'A rose is a rose', or is it?: can communicative competence be taught? In Brumfit, Christopher (Ed.), *The practice of communicative teaching* (ELT Documents 124) (pp. 87-96). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Maley, A. (1992), An open letter to 'the profession' via the editor of ELT Journal. *ELT Journal, 46* (1), 96-99.

Mao, Z. D. (1981). On Contradiction. In N. Knight (Ed.), *Mao Zedong's* ***On Contradiction****: An annotated translation of the pre-liberation text* (pp. 12-39). Griffith Asian Papers, N0. 3. Queeensland: Griffith University.

Marcus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and self: Implication for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98* (2), 224-253.

Marguilies, N., & Wallace, J. (1973). *Organisational change techniques and applications.* Brighton, England: Scott, Foresman and Company.

Marton, W. (1988). *Methods in English language teaching: Frameworks and options.* New York: Prentice-Hall.

Matalene, C. (1985). Contrastive rhetoric: An American writing teacher in China. *College English, 47* (8), 789-808.

Maturana, H. R., & Varela, F. J. (1987). *The tree of knowledge: The biographical roots of human understanding.* Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc.

McCargar, D. F. (1993). Teacher and student role expectations: Cross-cultural differences and implications. *The Modern Language Journal, 77* (2), 192-207.

McCrae, R. R., Costa, P. T., & Yik, M. S. M. (1996). Universal aspects of Chinese personality structure. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology* (pp. 189-207). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McGroarty, M. (1995). Sociolinguistics and language pedagogy: Are language teachers double agents? In J. E. Alatis et al., (Eds.), *Georgetown University Round Table on languages and linguistics, 1995* (pp. 92-104). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

McGroarty, M. (1998). Constructive and constructivist challenges for applied linguistics. *Language Learning, 48* (4), 591-622.

McIlwraith, H. (1996). Managing conflict in ATTC Projects. *ELT Newsletter: Teaching English in China, 27*, 103-107.

McKnight, A. (1994). Chinese learners of English: A different view of literacy? *Open Letter, 4* (2), 34-52.

McLaren, P. (1994). Multiculturalism and the post-modern critique: Toward a pedagogy of resistance and transformation. In H. A. Giroux & P. McLaren (Eds.), *Between borders: Pedagogy and the politics of cultural studies* (pp. 192-222). New York: Routledge.

McLaren, P. (1996). Liberatory politics and higher education: A Freirean perspective. In H. Giroux, et al (Eds.), *Counternarratives: Cultural studies and critical pedagogies in post-modern spaces* (pp. 117-148). New York: Routledge.

McLaughlin, D. (1995). Teaching overseas students and learning from them: A professional and modal dimension. *Educational Research and Perspectives, 22* (1), 103-113.

Medgyes, P. (1990). Queries from a communicative teacher. In R. Rossner & R. Bolitho (Eds.), *Currents of change in English language teaching* (pp. 103-110). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Medgyes, P. (1996). Native or non-native: Who's worth more? In T. Hedge & N. Whitney (Eds.), *Power, pedagogy & practice* (pp. 31-42). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Melton, C. D. (1990). Bridging the cultural gap: A study of Chinese students' learning style preferences. *RELC Journal, 21* (1), 29-54.

Mercer, K. (1990). Welcome to the jungle: Identity and diversity in post-modern politics. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity, community, culture, difference* (pp. 43-71). London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Mey, J. (1981). Right of wrong, my native speaker: Estant le régestes du noble souverain de l'empirie linguistic avec un renvoy au mesme roy. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *A festschrift for native speaker* (pp. 69-84). The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.

Mohapatra, J. K. (1997). Taxonomy of conceptual change: Review of two anchoring instructional strategies and functional model for teaching. *Indian Educational Review, 32* (1), 36-65.

Moore, H. (1984). What do English teachers need to know? In R. F. Price (Ed.), *English for China: Papers for discussion* (pp. 11-28). Melbourne: Committee for Australia-China Relations.

Moran, C., & Williams, E. (1993). Survey review: recent materials for the teaching of reading at intermediate level and above. *ELT Journal, 47* (1), 64-84.

Morrison, B. (1989). A teacher training course in China: A broadening of horizons. *The Teacher Trainer, 3* (2), 26-29.

Moser, C. A., & Kalton, G. (1971). *Survey methods in social investigation* (2nd edition). London: Heinemann Educational.

Muehl, L., & Muehl, S. (1992). *Trading cultures in the classroom: Two American teachers in China.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Mullane, W. (1984). Teaching literature. In. R. Price (Ed.), *English for China: Papers for discussion* (pp. 81-90). Melbourne: Committee for Australia-China Relations.

Murray, D. M.(1982). The great walls of China. *Today's Education, 71* (1), 55-58.

Myrskog, G. (1998). Students' conceptions of learning in different educational contexts. *Higher Education, 35,* 299-316.

Nayar, P. B. (1985). Education in the Third World: An exercise in cross-cultural communication. *International Education, 14,* 26-34.

Nayar, P. B. (1989). English across cultures: native English speaker in the Third World. *IDEAL 4,* 25 - 35.

Nayar, P. B. (1997). ESL/EFL dichotomy today: language politics or pragmatics? *TESOL Quarterly, 31* (1), 9-37.

Nicholas, H. (1985). Learner variations and teachability hypothesis. In K. Hylstenstam & M. Pienemann (Eds.), *Modelling and assessing second language acquisition* (pp. 177-195). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Nicholas, H. (1991). Language awareness and second language development. In C. James & P. Garrett (Eds.), *Language awareness in the classroom* (pp. 78-95). New York: Longman.

Nunan, D. (1989). *Designing tasks for the communicative classroom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nunan, D. (1995). Closing the gap between learning and instruction. *TESOL Quarterly, 29* (1), 133-158.

Nunan, D. (1996). Hidden voices: insiders' perspectives on classroom interaction. In K. M. Bailey & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Voices from the language classroom: Qualitative research in second language education* (pp. 41-56). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, J., & Novick, S. (1982). Alternative frameworks, conceptual conflict and accommodation: Toward a principled teaching strategy. *Instructional Science, 11*, 183-200.

Oatey, H. (1984). Teacher training in the People's Republic of China: A case report. *Language Learning and Communication, 3* (3), 353-365.

Oatey, H. (1990a). Developments in the training of English teachers, 1979-1989. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. 203-221). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Oatey, H. (1990b). Teacher training in the P. R. C: Influence of socio-cultural factors. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (pp. 250-263). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Olson, J. (1992). *Understanding teaching: Beyond expertise*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

On, L. W. (1996). The cultural context for Chinese learners: Conception of learning in the Confucian tradition. In D. Watkins & J. Biggs (Eds.), *The Chinese learner: Cultural, psychological and contextual influences* (pp. 25-41). Melbourne: The Australian Council for Education Research.

Oppenheim, A. N. (1992). *Questionnaire design, interviewing and attitude measurement.* London: Pinter.

Orton, J. M. (1984). From principles to practice. In R. F. Price (Ed.), *English for China: Papers for discussion* (pp. 29-66). Melbourne: Committee for Australia-China Relations.

Orton, J. M. (1990). *Educating the reflective practitioner in China: a case study in teacher education.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Orton, J. (1995). Becoming "Asian literate": From rhetoric to reality. *Asian Studies Review,19* (2), 73-84.

O'Sullivan, K. (1994). *Understanding ways: Communicating between cultures*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger.

Oxford, R. L., & Anderson, N. (1995). A cross-cultural view of learning styles. *Language Teaching, 28* (4), 201-215.

Paine, L. W. (1990). The teacher as virtuoso: A Chinese model for teaching. *Teachers College Record, 92* (1), 49-81.

Paine, L. W. (1991). Reforming teachers: The organisation, reproduction, and transformation of teaching. In I. Epstein (Ed.), *Chinese education: problems,* *policies, and prospects* (pp. 217-254). New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Paine, L. W. (1992). Teaching and modernisation in contemporary China. In R. Hayhoe (Ed.), *Education and modernisation: the Chinese experience* (pp. 183-209). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Pajares, M. E. (1992). Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct. *Review of Educational Research, 62* (3), 307-332.

Pajares, F. (1996). Self-efficacy in Academic settings. *Review of Educational Research, 66* (4), 543-578.

Pandy, J. (1990). The environment, culture, and behaviour. In R. W. Brislin (Ed.), *Applied Cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 254-277). London: Sage Publications.

Patrie, J., & Daum, D. A. (1980). Comments on the role of foreign experts in developing nations: a summation of the findings of an exchange of ESL specialists with the People's Republic of China. *TESOL Quarterly, 14* (3), 391-394.

Paul, R. C. (1990). *Critical thinking: What every person needs to survive in a rapidly changing world.* Rohnert Park, CA: Centre for Critical Thinking and Morla Critique, Sonoma State University.

Pennycook, A. (1989). The concept of method, interested knowledge, and the politics of language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 23* (4), 589-618.

Pennycook, A. (1990). Critical Pedagogy and second language education. *System, 18* (3), 303-314.

Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language.* Essex, England: Longman.

Pennycook, A. (1996). Borrowing other's words: text, ownership, memory, and plagiarism. *TESOL Quarterly, 30* (2), 201-230.

Pepitone, A. (1994). Beliefs and cultural social psychology. In L. L. Alder & U. P. Gielen (Eds.), *Cross-cultural topics in psychology* (pp. 139-152). Westport, Conn: Praeger.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson, R. (1996). ELT: The native speaker's burden? In T. Hedge & N. Whitney (Eds.), *Power, pedagogy & practice* (pp. 23-30). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pica, T. (1994). Research on negotiation: What does it reveal about second language learning conditions, processes, and outcomes. *Language Learning, 44* (3), 493-527.

Pica, T. (1995). Teaching language and teaching language learners: The expanding role and expectations of language teachers in communicative, content-based classrooms. In J. E. Alatis et al, (Eds.), *Georgetown University Round Table on languages and linguistics, 1995* (pp. 378-397). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Pica, T., Holliday, L., Lewis, N., Berducci, D. & Newman, J. (1991). Language learning through interaction. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 13,* 343-376.

Pica, T., Holliday, L., Lewis, N., Morgenthaler, L. (1989). Comprehensive output as an outcome of linguistic demands on the learner. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 11,* 63-90.

Pienemann, M. (1984). Psychological constraints on the teachability of languages. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 6* (2), 186-214.

Popkewitz, T. S. (1987). Ideology and social formation in teacher education. In T. S. Popkewitz (Ed.), *Critical studies in teacher education: Its folklore, theory and practice* (pp. 2-33). The Falmer Press.

Porter, E. A. (1987). Foreign involvement in China's colleges and universities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 11,* 369-385.

Porter, E. A. (1990). *Foreign teachers in China: Old problems for a new generation, 1979-1989.* New York, London: Greenwood Press.

Porter, R. E. (1972). An overview of intercultural communication. In L. A. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (pp. 3-18). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.

Posner, G. J., Strike, K. A., Hewson, P. W. & Gertzong, W. A. (1982). Accommodations of a scientific conceptions: Toward a theory of conceptual change. *Science Education, 66,* 211-227.

Prabhu, N. S. (1987). *Second language pedagogy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Prabhu, N.S. (1990). There is no best method -- Why? *TESOL Quarterly, 24* (2), 161-176.

Prabhu, N. S. (1992). The dynamics of the language lesson. *TESOL Quarterly, 26* (2), 225-241.

Prabhu, N. S. (1996). Concept and conduct in language pedagogy. In G. Cook & B. Seidlhofer (Eds.), *Principle & practice in applied linguistics* (pp. 57-71). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Price, R. F. (1984). Using foreign teachers. In Price, R. F. (Ed.) (1984). *English for China: papers for discussion.* Melbourne: Committee for Australian-China Relations, 115-121.

Prus, R. (1997). *Subcultural mosaics and intersubjective realities.* Albany: SUNY Press.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents.* London: Longman.

Rampton, B. (1996). Displacing the "native speaker": expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. In T. Hedge & N. Whitney (Eds.), *Power, pedagogy & practice* (pp. 17-22). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rao, Z. H. (1996). Reconciling communicative approaches to the teaching of English with traditional Chinese methods. *Research in the Teaching of English, 30* (4), 458-471.

Reed, E. (1990). Culture and language: Teaching ESL in England. In B. Harrison (Ed.), *Culture and the language classroom* (pp. 66-75). London: MEP & the British Council.

Reid, J. (1987). The learning style preferences of ESL students. *TESOL Quarterly, 21* (1), 87-111.

Ren, G. X. (1988). *A comparative study of discourse connectives in written English: its implications for TEFL in China.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Richards, J. C. (1994). The sources of language teachers' instructional decisions. *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, 1994,* 384-402.

Richards, J. C. (1996). Teachers' maxims in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 30* (2), 281-296.

Richards, J. C., & Lockhart, C. (1994). *Reflective teaching in second language classrooms.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riley, P. (1985). *Discourse and learning.* London: Longman.

Robson, S. (1989). Group discussions. In S. Robson & A. Foster (Eds.), *Qualitative research in action* (pp. 24-36). London and Melbourne: Edward Arnold.

Rogers, J. (1990). The world for sick proper. In R. Rossner & R. Bolitho (Eds.), *Currents of change in English language teaching* (pp. 7-15). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rosen, S. (1987). Survey research in the People's Republic of China: Some methodological problems. *Canadian and International Education* (special issue), *16* (1), 190-197.

Ross, H. (1992). Foreign language education as a barometer of modernisation. In R. Hayhoe (Ed.), *Education and modernisation: the Chinese experience* (pp. 239-254). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Ross, H. (1993). *China learns English: language teaching and social change in the People's Republic.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Rutherford, W., & Sharwood Smith, M. (1985). Consciousness-raising and universal grmmar. In W. Rutherford & M. Sharwood-Smith (Eds.), *Grammar as second language learning* (pp. 107-116). Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Ryan, M. (1998). Cultural knowledge and foreign language teachers: A case study of native speaker of English and a native speaker of Spanish. *Language, culture and Curriculum, 11* (2), 135-153.

Sagor, R. (1997). Collaborative action research for educational change. In A. Hargreaves (Ed.), *Rethinking educational change with heart and mind* (pp. 169-191). Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Said, E. W. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. London: Chatoo and Windus.

Salzman, M. (1986). *Iron & Silk.* New York: Random House, Inc.

Sampson, G. P. (1984). Exporting language teaching methods from Canada to China. *TESL Canadian Journal, 1* (1), 19-32.

Sansome, R. & Du, J. J (1988). Roles of Chinese and British teachers. In "Report on the 1988 ATTC Conference." *British Council ELT Newsletter*, special issue, Beijing.

Savignon, S. A. (1992). Language, communication, social meaning, and social change: The challenge for teachers. In J. E. Alatis (Ed.), *Georgetown University Round Table on languages and linguistics, 1992* (pp. 104-115). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Schmuck, R. A., & Schmuck, P. A. (1997). *Group processes in the classroom* (7th ed.). Madison, WI: Brown and Benchmark.

Schön, D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioner, how professionals think in action.* New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Schunk, D. H. (1992). Theory and research on student perceptions in the classroom. In D. H. Schunk & J. L. Meece (Eds.), *Student perceptions in the classroom* (pp. 3-23). London: Laurence Erlbaum.

Schutz, A. (1964). Symbol, reality and society. *Collected Papers, 1,* 287-356.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1994). *The post-Confucian Confusion.* Research Report No. 37. Hong Kong: Department of English, City Polytechnic of Hong Kong.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (1995). *Intercultural communication: A discourse approach.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Scovel, J. (1983). English teaching in China: A historical perspective. *Language Learning and Communication, 2* (1), 105-110.

Scovel, T. (1983). The impact of foreign experts, methodology and materials on English language study in China. *Language Learning and Communication, 2* (1), 83-91.

Scovel, T. (1994). The role of culture in second language pedagogy. *System, 22* (2), 205-219.

Seaton, I. (1990). Conference Report. *English Teaching in China, 20,* 24-32.

Seedhouse, P. (1996). Classroom interaction: Possibilities and impossibilities. *ELT Journal, 50* (1), 16-24.

Selfe, C. (1998). Lest we think the revolution is a revolution: Images of technology and the nature of change. In J. Tapper & P. Gruba (Eds.), *ACSC '98 Teaching communication skills in the disciplines: The proceedings of the Australian Communication Skills Conference* (pp. 7-19). Melbourne: University of Melbourne, October 1-2, 1998.

Shamin, F. (1996a). In or out of the action zone: Location as a feature of interaction in large ESL classes in Pakistan. In K. M. Bailey & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Voices from the language classroom: Qualitative research in second language education* (pp. 123-144). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Shamin, F. (1996b). Learner resistance to innovation in classroom methodology. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 105-121). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Shanahan, D. (1997). Articulating the relationship between language, literature, and culture: Toward a new agenda for foreign language teaching and research. *The Modern Language Journal, 81* (2), 164-174.

Shannon, N. B., & Meath-Lang, B. (1992). Collaborative language teaching: A co-investigation. In D. Nunan (Ed.), *Collaborative language learning and teaching* (pp. 120-140). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Shao, G. Y. (1998). Shuzhixing ketang jiaoxue chutan [On qualitiy education in classroom practice]. *Guangming Daily*, 25 March, 1998, p. 6.

Sheldon, A. (1980). Organisational paradigms: A theory of organisational change. *Organisational Dynamics*, Winter, 61-80.

Sheppard, C., & Gilbert, J. (1991). Course design, teaching method, and student epistemology. *Higher Education, 22,* 229-249.

Shu, J. H. (1988). A comment on the criticisms of China's Intensive Reading. Unpublished manuscript. Oklahoma State University English Department.

Shulman, L. S. (1986). Those who understand: knowledge growth in teaching. *Educational Researcher, 15*, 4-14.

Simone, T. M. (1989). *About face: Race in post-modern America.* Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia.

Sisney, V., & Du, J. J (1993). What kind of literature course is best for SMSTT students? *English Teaching in China, 25*, 92-95.

Skibbins, G. (1974). *Organisation evolution*. New York: Amacon.

Slack, R. S. (1998). [Review of the book *Subcultural mosaics and intersubjective realities Subcultural mosaics and intersubjective realities* by R. Prus]. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 30*, 322-324.

Smith, A. D. (1976). *Social change: Social theory and historical processes*. London: Longman.

Smith, K. J. (1997). Cross-cultural schemata and change in modern China: "First fresh air comes in and also flies come in". *Language and Education, 11* (4), 260-270.

Smolicz, J. J. (1988). Tradition, core values and intellectual development. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 11* (4), 387-410.

Smolicz, J. J. (1998). From traditional to modernity: Higher education in an era of global change. *Education and Society, 16* (1), 15-26.

Spada, N. (1997). Form-focused instruction and second language acquisition: A review of classroom and laboratory research. *Language Teaching, 30* (2), 73-85.

Spradley, B. A., & McCurdy, D. W. (1984). Cultural and contemporary world. In J. P. Spradley & D. W. McCurdy (Eds.), *Conformity and conflict: readings in cultural anthropology* (5th edition) (pp. 1-13). Boston: Little, Brown.

Stehr, N. (1992). Experts, counsellors and advisers. In N. Stehr and R. Ericson (Eds.), *The culture and power of knowledge: inquiries into contemporary societies* (pp. 107-155). New York: Water de Gruyter.

Stern, H. H. (1993). *Issues and options in language teaching* (2nd impression). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stevenson, H. W., & Stigler, J. W. (1992). *The learning gap: why our schools are failing and what we can learn from Japanese and Chinese education.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Stevick, E. (1980). *Teaching languages: A way and ways.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Sturman, P. (1992). Team teaching: A case study from Japan. In D. Nunan (Ed.), *Collborative language learning and teaching* (pp. 141-161). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sun, G. Y. (1990). English teaching in China. *ELT Newsletter: Teaching English in China, 21*, 76-82.

Sun, Z., & Wu, J. (1986). *Jiaoyuxue* [*Pedagogy*]. Changchun: Jilin jiaoyu chubanshe [Jilin Education Press].

Sunderland, J. (1990). "Doing what the Romans don't do": Advanced teacher training course in China. In Y. F. Dzau (Ed.), *English in China* (p. 222-249). Hong Kong: API Press Ltd.

Swales, J. (1985). English as the international language of research." *RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia, 16* (1), 1-7.

Szalay, L. B, Stroll, J., Liu, F., & Lao, P. S. (1994). *American and Chinese perceptions and belief systems: a People's Republic of China-Taiwanese comparison.* New York and London: Plenum Press.

Tabulawa, R. (1998). Teachers' perspectives on classroom practice in Botswana: Implication for pedagogical change. *Qualitative Studies in Education, 11* (2), 249-268.

Tafarodi, R. W., & Swann, W. B. (1996). Individualism-collectivism and global self-esteem: Evidence for a cultural trade-off. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 27* (6), 651-672.

Tannen, D. (1979). What is a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In R. O. Freedle (Ed.), *New directions in discourse processing* (pp. 137-181). Norwood, NJ: ABLEX Publishing Corporation.

Taylor, S. J., & Bogdan, R. (1984). *Introduction of qualitative research methods: The search for mechanics* (2nd edition). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Tao, J. (1980). Comments on the J. Ronayne Cowan, *et al*. article "English Teaching in China: A Recent Survey." *TESOL Quarterly, 14* (2), 257- 260.

Tarone, E., & Yule, G. (1989). *Focus on the language learner.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tedick, D. J., & Walker, C. L. (1994). Second language teacher education: The problems that plague us. *The Modern Language Journal, 78,* 300-312.

Terres, C. A., & Morrow, R. A. (1998). Paulo Freire, Jürgen Habermas, and critical pedagogy: implications for comparative education. *Melbourne Studies in Education, 39* (2), 1-20.

Thorp, D. (1991). Confused encounters: Differing expectations in the EAP classroom. *ELT Journal, 45* (2), 108-118.

Thurston, A. F. (1983). Social science and fieldwork in China: Context and constraints. In A. F. Thurston & B. Pasternak (Eds.), *The social sciences and fieldwork in China: Views from the field.* Colorado: Westview Press.

Thurston, A. F., Turner-Gottschang, K., & Reed, L. A. (1994). *Chinese bound: A guide to academic life and work in the PRC* (revised edition). Washington D. C.: National Academy Press.

Ting, Y. R. (1987). Foreign language teaching in China: Problems and perspectives. *Canadian International Education, 16* (1), 48-61.

Ting, Y. R. (1996). Looping forward: drafting in my own language. *ELT Journal, 50* (2), 135-142.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1989). Identity and interpersonal bonding. In M. K. Asante & W. B. Gudykunst (Eds.), *Handbook of international and intercultural communication* (pp. 351-373). London: Sage Publications.

Tollefson, J. (1993). Language policy and power: Yugoslavia, the Phillipines, and Southwest Asian refugees in the United States. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 103,* 73-95.

Triandis, H. (1994). *Culture and social behaviour.* New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

Trigwell, K. & Prosser, M. (1991). Improving the quality of student learning: the influence of learning context and student approaches to learning on learning outcomes. *Higher Education, 22*, 251-266.

Tsui, A. B. M. (1996). Reticence and anxiety in second language learning. In K. M. Bailey & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Voices from the language classroom: Qualitative research in second language education* (pp. 145-167). Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Tuckman, B. W. (1972). *Conducting educational research.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Tudor, I. (1993). Teacher roles in the learner-centred classroom. *ELT Journal,* 47 (1), 22-31.

Turner-Gottschang, K., & Reed, L. A. (1987). *Chinese bound: A guide to academic life and work in the PRC.* Washington D. C.: National Academy Press.

Ulychny, P. (1996). What is in a methodology? In D. Freeman & J. C. Richards (Eds.), *Teacher learning in language teaching* (pp. 178-196). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Utley, J. (1990). Training teachers and training teacher-trainers. In Z. L. Wang (Ed.), *ELT in China: Papers presented at the international symposium on teaching English in the Chinese context (ISTEC), Guangzhou, China, 1985* (pp. 463-471). Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

VanPatten, B. (1994). Evaluating the role of consciousness in second language acquisition: Terms, linguistic features and research methodology. *AILA Review, 11*, 27-36.

VanPatten, B., & Lee, J. F. (1990). Contexts, processes, and products in second language acquisition and foreign language learning. In B. vanPatten & J. F. Lee (Eds.), *Second language acquisition--foreign language learning* (pp. 240-245). Philadephia: Intercultural Matters.

Walker, R. (1993). The conduct of educational case studies: Ethics, theory and procedures. In M. Hammersley (Ed.), *Controversies in classroom research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 163-195). Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Wan, Z. X. (1997). Observation on teaching style of native-speaking teachers in Chinese ELT classrooms. *ELT Newsletter: Teaching English in China, 29*, 101-104.

Wan, D. H. (1999). In *People's Daily* (Overseas edition), 2 February, 1999, p. 7.

Wang, D. W. (1986). Optimal language learning based on the comprehension-production distinction. In C. Brumfit (Ed.), *The practice of communicative teaching* (pp. 99-122). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Wang, R. Y., & Gao, J. (1996). Tuchu zhongdian, jiangqiu xiaoyi, zuohao zhuanjia gongzuo, Cujin jiaoxue yu keyan [Focusing on the important tasks, promoting gains, controlling the process of employment of foreign experts, and promoting teaching and research]. *Zhuanjia Tongxun [Foreign Experts Newsletter], 5*, 27-29.

Wang, Q., & Seth, N. (1998). Self-development through classroom observation: changing perceptions in China. *ELT Journal, 52* (3), 205-213.

Ward, C. A., & Kennedy, A. (1996). Crossing cultures: The relationship between psychological and socio-cultural dimensions of cross-cultural adjustment. In J. Pandy, D. Sinha, D. P. S. Bhawuk (Eds.), *Asian contribution to cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 289-306). New Delhi: Sage.

Watkins, D. (1996). Learning theories and approaches to research: a cross-cultural perspective. In D. Watkins & J. Biggs (Eds.), *The Chinese learner: cultural, psychological and contextual influences* (pp. 3-24). Melbourne: The Australian Council for Education Research.

Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (1988). Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly, 22*, 575-592.

Wen, Q. F., & Johnson, R. K. (1997). L2 learner variables and English achievement: A study of tertiary-level English majors in China. *Applied Linguistics, 18* (1), 27-48.

Welker, R. (1991). Expertise and the teacher as expert: rethinking a questionable metaphor. *American Educational Research Journal, 28* (1), 19-35.

Wenden, A. (1998). Metacognitive knowledge and language learning. *Applied Linguistics, 19* (4), 515-537.

Wennerstrom, A. (1998). Intonation as cohesion in academic discourse: A study of Chinese speakers of English. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 20* (1), 1-25.

Widdowson, H. G. (1984). *Explorations in applied linguistics 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1987). The roles of teacher and learner. *ELT Journal, 41* (2), 83-88.

Widdowson, H. G. (1990). Abstraction, actuality and the conditions of relevance. In Z. L. Wang (Ed.), *ELT in China: Papers presented at the international symposium on* *teaching English in the Chinese context (ISTEC), Guangzhou, China, 1985* (pp. 39-46). Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1992a). ELT and EL teachers: matters arising. *ELT Journal, 46* (4), 333-339.

Widdowson, H. G. (1992b). Communication, communication, and the problem of appropriate use. In J. E. Alatis (Ed.), *Georgetown University Round Table on languages and linguistics 1992: language, communication, and social meaning* (pp. 305-315). Washington DC.: Georgetown University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1993). Innovation in teacher development. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 13*, 260-275.

Widdowson, H. G. (1994). The ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly, 28* (2), 377-388.

Wolf, K. (1988). Questionnaire. In J. P. Keeves (Ed.), *Educational research, methodology, and measurement. An international handbook* (pp. 478-482). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Wong, S. C. (1988). What we do and don't know about Chinese learners of English: A critical review of selected research. *RELC Journal, 19* (1), 1-20.

Wright, T. (1987). *Roles of teachers and learners*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wright, T. (1990). Understanding classroom role relationships. In J. C. Richards & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Second language teacher education* (pp. 82-97). Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres.

Wright, T. (1991). Language awareness in teacher education programs for non-native speakers. In C. James & P. Garrett (Eds.), *Language Awareness in the classroom* (pp. 62-77). London: Longman.

Wright, T., & Bolitho, R. (1993). Language awareness: A missing link in teacher education? *Journal, 47* (4), 292-304.

Wright, T., & Bolitho, R.(1997). Towards awareness of English as a professional language. *Language Awareness, 6* (2&3), 162-170.

Wu, J. Y. (1983a).Quchang Buduan -- A Chinese view of foreign participation in teaching English in China. *Language Learning and Communication, 2* (1), 111-116.

Wu, J. Y. (1983b). Eclecticism: A Chinese viewpoint. *Language Learning and Communication, 2* (3), 287-293.

Wu, X. J. (1996). *Zhongguo xiaozhang gongzhuo xinlun [New Directions of Chinese school principals]*. Shenyang: Liaonin Renmin Chubanshe [Liaonin People's Press].

Wu, Z. X. (1998). Gaokao yuwen mianti bixu zhouchu wuqu [The matriculous examination in Chinese should walk out of the deadlock]. *Guangming Daily*, 25 March, 1998, p. 6.

Xu, G. Z. (1990). China's modernisation and its English language needs. In Z. L. Wang (Ed.), *ELT in China: Papers presented at the international symposium on teaching English in the Chinese context (ISTEC), Guangzhou, China, 1985* (pp. 2-10). Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.

Yang, K. S. (1986). Chinese personality and its change. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The pyschology of the Chinese people* (pp. 106-170). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yang, X. S. (1998). "Duan ceng" weixie gongheguo mingtian [The "fault" threatens the republic's tomorrow]. *Huaxia Wenzhai*. http://www.cnd.org/HXWZ/CM98/cm9811c 0001. html. 20 November, 1998.

Yi, Y. W. (1997). Xue yingyu: Re zai Shenzhen [Great enthusiasm of English learning in Shenzhen]. *Guangming Daily*. 21 March, 1997, p. 1.

Yin, K. (1989). *Case study research: Design and methods* (revised edition). London: Sage.

Young, R. (1987). A cultural context of TESOL -- A review of research into Chinese classrooms. *RELC Journal, 18* (2), 15-30.

Young, R. (1996). *Intercultural Communication: Pragmatics, genealogy, deconstruction*. Adelaide: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Yu, C. C. (1984). Cultural principles underlying English teaching in China. *Language Learning and Communication, 3* (1), 29-40.

Yum, J. O. (1988). The impact of Confucianism on interpersonal relationships and communication patterns in East Asia. *Communication Monographs, 55*, 374-388.

Zhang, Q. R. (1995). *A Unit in English as a foreign language in China: some implications for Australian EFL teachers*. Unpublished MA thesis, La Trobe University, Melbourne.

Zhang, Z. D., Huang, T. Q., & Yang, Z. C. (1993). *A course in English language teaching methodology for students of higher normal schools*. Chengdu: Dianzi Keji Daxue Chubanshe [Electronic Science Press].

Zhao, Y., & Campbell, K. P. (1995). English in China. *World Englishes, 14* (3), 377-390.